601 582 that wife's brother's daughter marriage is nowhere else reported.[21] It so happens that I was privileged to work many long hours with J. M. Collío in Santiago, in 1948. Again and again, without revealing my purpose, I questioned him on this point, and invariably Collío denied the existence of the custom. In retrospect it seems to me that a single error of translation may be to blame for all the confusion. The Mapuche word *ñuke* means either wife or mother, and I venture the explanation that Collío sometimes spoke of marriage with wife's brother's daughter when he meant to say mother's brother's daughter, the traditional form of Araucanian cross-cousin marriage.

601 613 Even if the practice of marrying wife's brother's daughter is not recognized, however, enough parallels remain to justify the identification of the nomenclature as Omaha. Another interesting problem then arises, for it is widely held that Omaha terminology goes with fully developed patrilineal clans, but Mapuche society is not grouped into clans. For a consideration of this problem resort must be had to hypothesis, in the form of "historical" or "evolutionary" reconstruction.

000 A host of writers beginning with Lewis H. Morgan have argued that the various parts of a kinship system, such as terminology or marriage customs, do not necessarily originate, evolve, or change at one and the same time or rate of speed within a given social structure. Consequently, in some cases, "a recently acquired custom may not yet have developed an appropriate nomenclature, while [in other cases] . . . the nomenclature may survive after the custom has become obsolete.[22] The best understanding of the Araucanian situation can be gained when it is viewed in the light of a concept of nonsynchronous evolution.

174 611 An attempt will now be made to formulate a hypothesis with respect to the evolutionary development of the Mapuche kinship system. If one accepts the findings of Latcham, who

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[21] Cooper, 1946, p. 719.

[22] Lowie, 1929, p. 173.

174 611 kin he had at his command. These conditions provide the sociocultural milieu that is most congenial to the Omaha system, for it has already been established that Omaha nomenclature flourishes when a patrilineate is in its most highly developed form.[27]

174 613 There still remains for consideration the question of whether the Araucanians had a clan system at this stage of their history. On this score the literature is particularly baffling, for terms like clan, lineage, and family have been used with such varied connotations that they are worthless from the viewpoint of precise analysis. A reader can find a tremendous assortment of hints, possibilities, parallels, and suggestions that point to the existence of patrilineal clans,[28] but he searches in vain for an unequivocal account of Araucanian clanship, past or present. None the less, the absence of clans does not invalidate the existence and functioning of the Omaha system for, as I have maintained, there are times when unilocal household groups may be the exact equivalents of lineages or clans.[29]

174 Settlement on reservations, pacification, and the allotment of land in severalty must have had a serious impact on Araucanian social structure. The key to the shifts brought about by changed conditions may well have been the termination of the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, and its replacement by individual, neolocal habitations. Once again Murdock has provided an excellent conceptual framework for this discussion. He has stated that rules of residence are most vulnerable to outside forces and that they are often followed by loss of a clan system and, more slowly, by different descent regulations. Most resistant to change is kinship terminology.

174 591 "The development of neolocal residence, in societies following other rules," wrote Murdock in a passage directly relevant to the Araucanians, "appears to be favored by any influence which tends to isolate or to emphasize the individual or the

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[27] White, 1939, pp. 569–70; Murdock, 1949, p. 240.

[28] Particularly revealing in this respect is the discussion of the *kuga* in Cooper, 1946, pp. 722–23.

[29] Titiev, 1943, pp. 518–19; 1944, pp. 46–48.

846 compassionate friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relations and friends were assembled to celebrate a
844 feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the *ruca* itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*elputrave*) assists at the birth. The men retire outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

553 The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lacu*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

846 A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned,
853 which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

428 When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other
587 property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother, who recovers her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

613 *Totemism.*—Although totemism is not in vogue among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was so at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

551 The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Nahuel*, tiger; *Nahuelcalu*, red tiger; *Nahuetripai*, leaping tiger; *Luan*, huanaco; *Mariluan*, ten huanacos; *Loncoluan*, huanaco's head; *Vilu*, snake; *Quilavilu*, three snakes; *Coluvilu*, red snake, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

613 The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their
779 mother's or on their father's side, although most of them incline to the former.

The word küŋa, my informants said, referred to lineage. Küŋa 613 persist in related family groups of the present day. According to non-Araucanian teachers all children claiming the same lineage will be on the same side in the event of a quarrel. The same is true when a quarrel arises among the people. A wake will be attended only by persons of the lineage of the deceased. "I have asked children at school why they were not attending a wake—maybe a neighbor had died—and the answer is always 'We do not belong to him; we are not related to him.'"

The sororate was institutional but not obligatory, as previously 587 stated. However, a man was not to marry a sister of his wife who was older than his wife. "These I call ŋillandomo; those younger than my wife, I call kərum. I may marry all those called kərum, but I may not marry one called ŋillandomo. I respect every ŋillandomo as if she were my wife's mother. Formerly nearly every man that married a second or third wife, married the sisters of his first wife; today this is seldom done."

The levirate, too, was institutional. Informants gave names of couples so married at present. Reasons for the levirate were to keep rights to land within the family, and also to provide care and protection for children. Quoting informants: "Recently a man in Calefquén (near Coñaripe) died and his brother married the widow." "Here in Alepúe three men were married that way within the last 10 years. Each man was more than 40 years old. Such marriages have very real value, even today. An unmarried brother has an obligation to marry his brother's widow; he is often forced to do so by his parents because they want their son's children cared for by someone who will be kind to them. Then, too, the man's parents want to keep the property in the family." "When my brother died," said a married man, "I took his wife and his four children into my house with my own family. Their oldest child was only four years old then. The people talked about me: they said that I had taken a second wife; they poked fun at me, saying that I was now a cacique. But there is no truth in that, for I have always respected my brother's wife. She has lived in our home with her children, and I will let her continue to do so."

Sometimes sons in their late teens object to their mother's marrying their father's brother. In such cases, if the mother wishes to marry, either the sons leave home or she does so and marries. It seems that the man who marries his brother's widow must always be a brother younger than the deceased husband, namely, one of those spoken of as ünwe. "My brothers older than I are considered fathers by my children."

"raised no tribute," it is clear from early twentieth-century reports and 241
from informants who describe the situation which existed less than 476
three generations ago that the chief could and did request food from 622
members of the residential group in sufficient amounts to defray his [431]
contributions to communal ceremonial and secular affairs. I suggest [621]
that a chief's hold over reservation members in this respect weakened first with regard to the unrelated lineages of the reservation community, and second in proportion to changes that took place in the traditional economic orientation.

Traditionally, then, the *lonko* or chief initiated the agricultural activities of the group. After his own gardens or fields had been prepared or harvested, the workers returned to their own fields. There was a round of agricultural activities which involved joint labor and household interdependence. There appears to have been a considerable amount of enforced participation involved in *mingaco*, especially after the reservation system went into effect and the chief exercised control over reservation land. Informants' accounts of *mingaco* in the early 1900's, while perhaps exaggerating the amount of food and drink consumed, seem convincing in their emphasis on the chief's authority in organizing labor. The chief rarely participated in the actual labor, assuming a managerial role. This is characteristic of *mingaco* hosts today.

Agricultural work is more and more coming to be performed by 241
smaller groups. Such labors are seldom reservation-wide nowadays, 476
but generally involve several of the most closely related families on [621]
the reservation. A change from hand harvesting and animal threshing [178]
to machine operations seems partly responsible for this change, since [464]
a smaller, sometimes a hired, labor force is able to do the work.

Mingaco Today

One respect in which *mingaco* differs today from descriptions of 476
it in former times is in the organizational role of the chief and in 622
the number of people who assemble for the work party. It is rare to 613
find all members of a large residential group or reservation community [621]
performing communal labor under the authority of their chief. It continues to occur in lineage segments, under the leadership of a lineage elder. While agricultural decisions are up to individuals and anyone may organize a *mingaco* or do his work alone, deference is customarily paid to a lineage elder or the reservation chief by requesting his advice or his presence, or at least by discussing one's plans

476 [622] [613] with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I [241] [114] lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

476 177 [427] [423] The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency — as they are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working [427] *mingaco,* and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

476 [241] *Mingacos* are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under [491] [622] [623] the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

496 24 [264] (*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

496 622 [491] [621] [312] Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland, if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

243 [496] [427] Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to [244] haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region [496] machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples [535] dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

496 241 [178] [613] *Mingacos* are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include 476
larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road [241]
repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing [613]
mingaco may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that [622]
mingaco expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather 476
than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the 622
household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or [491]
widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to
lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution
such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done.
If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining
his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the [574]
workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed.
In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even
though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances [554]
his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship [621]
which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that 476
engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads 613
are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these [621]
multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large
mingaco groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller.
Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, [241]
the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, [342]
such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally [241]
protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization
different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is [574]
completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking [273]
bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of
land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small
labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into
place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time
during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion
of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As [342]
mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction
is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco*
is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting [335]
and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

342 476 613 335 might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

241 476 Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacarería* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

476 613 The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

476 [241] Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricultural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there 476
might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special
to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco*
celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement
works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, how- [613]
ever, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males
of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or [608]
koncho) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis.
Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571]
most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572]
simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano*
partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual
closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* ar-
rangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628]
reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kin-
ship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in
establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- 464
sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes 241
hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [177]
the family can provide and when the family head is not able to en-
gage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assist-
ing his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely
hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465]
paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556]
can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the
ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify
a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relation-
ships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerg-
ing wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is
quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort.
However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals
who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156]
arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in
other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys
from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean [648]
tarreros (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

594 Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence — at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships — and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is — at least during one or more phases of its development — always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

592 Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of
[613] lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated
[596] extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests
[594] that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

613 *Lof* and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households)
[621] which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen — father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain
[596] social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

592 The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the
613 breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern.
[114] Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any
[595] change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche. 592 613 [595]

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudau* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically [476] in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of 613 Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to [776] refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, al- [592] though reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only 611 with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

611 [217] kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

621 The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción, reserva, comunidad,* etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

103 621 101 [794] To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as
[613] once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when
[794] the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social
[787] structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly con-
[776] cerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

114 61 In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

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794 628 [1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *ñillatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruc- 114
tion to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually 61
observed.

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an ex- 114
tended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of 621
common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely over- 61
looking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation.

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Ma- 621
puche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing 613
importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and 618
what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal [591]
residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are

618
621 concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at
613 the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Mur-
[591] dock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly [627] the focal group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, [721] the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and internecine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patri-
[611] lineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware
of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom
[602] remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical significance. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

613 The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly
177 explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their prereservation economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in 613
stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity 177
of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche so- 114
cial groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). 61
There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Arau- 177
canian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivian apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common [182]
pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche [621]
were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded to- 177
gether to defend their territory against invading whites. This was 613
more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general [648]
resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when
the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions [423]
of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of

613 [177] peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The political and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram I[2] shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding reservations at this generational depth. 178 613 What has occurred, owing to the limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage,* (2) *lineage group,* (3) *localized lineage,* (4) *sublineage,* and (5) *minimal lineage.* The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because [582] [591] females of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

613 621 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[2] [See Cat. 116, P. 93 -- Analyst]

males tend to spend only a few of their mature years with their natal group, although some may live there with in-married husbands (uxorilocal residence) and others return as widows or divorcees. 613 621

The sublineage is a branch of the maximal lineage at a generational level below that of the founder's offspring. Sublineages themselves segment further at successive generational levels. A minimal lineage may be defined as a two-generational segment of a sublineage (father and sons). Stated in nongenerational terms, a sublineage is a branch of the localized lineage. It is the next largest kingroup above the family and is the most tightly integrated of all segments of the lineage. The significance of these structural distinctions will become apparent when interpersonal and intergroup relations are discussed in the chapters that follow.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE RESIDENTIAL KINGROUP

The residential kingroup is structured around a core of patrilineally related males, and includes their spouses and children as well as the unmarried (single, widowed, separated, divorced) females of the patrilineage. Like the patrilineage, the residential kingroup seldom uses a name, but, when necessary for defining membership, can use the name of the reservation, which is the name of the founder of the dominant patrilineage. [618]

Insofar as the structure of the residential kingroup approximates that of a *lofche,* a somewhat dangerous analogy, it retains some of the characteristics of prereservation economic and kinship organization. The residential kingroup, however, owes its existence to the reservation system and the agrarian economy to which the Mapuche have been committed for several generations. The residential kingroup is important in economic and political organization, religious ceremonials, and recreative activities.

For ease of exposition, the residential kingroup will be discussed here as if it were coextensive with the reservation settlement, as in some cases it is. This approach will be discarded later when relationships between these units are described on reservations that have two or more unrelated residential kingroups. Within reservation boundaries, residential kingroups which are structured around two or more different lineages do not, for the most part, function independently of each other but are integrated under the juridico-moral and political authority of the chief who is the holder of the *título de* [622]

613 621 *merced* for the reservation group. This is one important reason for distinguishing lineal and residential units.

[622] It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's [114] *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called [614] "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

613 621 618 Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage. Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this [622] is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, 613 kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate 621 reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[a] 618 Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

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[2] Guevara, 1913, Chap. 2:15–183, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been 591 described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown 613 of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of 621 neolocality — neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate 613 the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation- 621 period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost 596 nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages [114] simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar [618] to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

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[a] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

613 621 596 might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of [618] unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In [114] view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indi- [428] cate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations [622] composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kin- [48] group and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 618 [588] [591] A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between
their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's
sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by
the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios,* the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

562 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), ex-
423 tenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are condi-
177 tional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction
over land.

428 Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most im-
423 portant part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that
562 land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property —
177 at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however,
[556] females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and
[591] the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are
sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the
621 anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders
are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of
[428] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact de-
[423] pends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership.
Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of
562 women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman
589 who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The
second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

Luisa Minchiqueo, who lives with an older brother, is unmarried 613
and childless, but she is of childbearing age. It is unlikely that she 562
will marry as long as her middle-aged brother, Pablo, is alive. Luisa 589
cares for her brother's house and prepares all his meals for him. Pablo, who is a bachelor, attends to the field work, sometimes hiring assistance during harvest and planting time. Luisa has charge of the barnyard animals and the vegetable garden. Pablo is regarded as "crazy" [158]
(*loco, wesalonko*) by his neighbors and kinsmen, since he is given to periodic screaming, self-inflicted violence, and other erratic behavior which makes him the butt of many jokes in the neighborhood.

Luisa rarely ventures beyond her brother's compound, although Pablo takes his leave frequently. Like her brother, Luisa does not participate in any group activities, such as fiestas or religious ceremonies, and seems apathetic in regard to most local events. She rarely has visitors from among the reservation inhabitants, but occasionally her married sisters and their children come to see her and Pablo.

Her brother is a rather well-to-do man by local standards. He has also had a secondary-school education, while Luisa is barely literate. Because of his behavioral peculiarities he is not "taken seriously" by most of his peers and has little or no voice in community affairs. Some males of his lineage do not even acknowledge consanguineal bonds with him, although the genealogy of the reservation leaves no doubt of the relationship.

Since Luisa remains closely associated with her peculiar brother and because she has failed to fulfill the adult female role of marrying (even uxorilocally) and bearing children, she also is on the periphery of the local group.

Men seemed to pity her for not being able to marry, but they said that her brother has a right to expect her to care for him. The remarks of few women varied from the comment that it was unfortunate that she had to spend all her time with her brother and did not have a husband and children to look after.

Some people hinted that she was having an incestuous relationship with her brother, but this was denied by most members of the reservation, who resented the gossip. Indeed, had an incestuous relationship [684]
been going on to the knowledge of the community, Pablo's closest kinsmen would have been obliged to order him to desist or leave the reservation. If he had not abided by their orders, he would have been physically punished. The Chilean police might even have been called [626]
in to settle the matter. Pablo would certainly have been ostracized.

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Since none of these developments have taken place, the allegation, if not false, certainly seems to have carried little weight. Yet it serves to indicate the position of the man and his sister in the community and to show that an unmarried woman's status is closely related to that of the kinsman upon whom she is most dependent.

In most cases an unmarried woman would not be so isolated, but she would participate merely as a member of her brother's or father's household and her position would depend on that of the male relative with whom she lived. Spinsters are atypical in Mapuche society, and there seem no hard and fast rules for determining their status in the community.

An instance of more general occurrence is that of a widowed or separated woman who returns to her natal reservation with her young children. While her status and the extent to which she participates in community activities also depend largely on the position within the local group of her father, brother, or another close kinsman, the strength of her claim to farmland is of crucial significance with regard to her standing in the community. A female of the patrilineage who is in residence has the right to participate in lineage-based community affairs, although she lacks the importance of the males. Her attendance at funerals and fertility rites is actually obligatory, and she might be consulted on all matters of reservation policy and activities. Her economic status is an important factor in this regard. If she is able to support herself, usually through the efforts of her young sons and daughters or by working on a half-share basis with a kinsman, she achieves a great measure of independence. In effect, she is treated as a household head.

A woman who has re-established residence in her natal group associates less with in-married females than with her patrilineal kinsmen, and her role may approximate that of a male in certain spheres of action – for example subsistence activities. She is a welcome guest in her father's house and those of her brothers. She tends to be most friendly, therefore, with the women of these households, and especially with those among them whom she had known before she herself married and left the community. On a large reservation, this might serve to limit her circle of friends considerably, as well as her voice in community affairs. But on a small reservation containing few households she would tend to be on intimate terms (not necessarily friendly terms) with everyone. She might visit and be visited more often than other women of the group, and she would be the recipient

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she 613
was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, 562
since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and 589
many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care
for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential
kingroup when she died. If industrious, she[3] might well manage to [434]
earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manu- [437]
factured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her
land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in
time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she [434]
would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might
have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxori- 591
local residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held 114
by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find
no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, how-
ever. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in
much the same terms as such instances today—in general, the male
is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized 591
by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups mi- [361]
grated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chil- [613]
ean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. [166]
Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger [182]
residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is
evidence that during the present and the previous generation
men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of simi-
lar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of [175]
Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and regis- 591
tration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reserva- 613
tion land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for [423]
emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often [609]
as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be [166]

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[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[3] [ie, a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

591 emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal
613 residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain
conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these
[681] in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations
because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to
[609] put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust
of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship
[599] can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial
bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate)
[608] and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed
to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

613 The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where
623 views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action
is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

613 In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

613 A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's
423 groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family)
621 on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. 613 After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to 423 her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little 621 more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing [622] to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his [609] mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and work- [464] ing as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

613 423 621 to validate inheritance rights in the absence of support from relatives in residence Carlos would have had to remain a member of the reservation group. Since he had not, and since the actual land once held by his grandfather and father had been put to use by others, his claim was weak. It was strong enough, however, for his petition to be taken seriously. I suspect this was because he could have taken his case before the *Juez de Indios*, and the reservation elders and the chief deliberated as to whether they had a clear-cut argument against him. His lack of membership in the reservation group and absence of consanguineal ties with the predominant patrilineage were arguments against him. They were supported and reinforced by suspicion.

Carlos is now married uxorilocally to a woman on a nearby reservation, where he has been living for several years. He has four children, two of them sons. He is an enterprising farmer and herder, and, although his wife has claim to only a few hectares through inheritance from her father, Carlos has expanded his fields and pasturage through entering into half-share arrangements with coresidents and Mapuche from other reservations. The prospects of his sons, however, are far from good. They will fall heir to their mother's land, but this will be insufficient for them to support families, especially while their mother and father are still alive. They are members of the residential kingroup *por madre*, but not members of her lineage.

If it were not for the scarcity of land, young men of this status would form the nucleus of a new localized lineage. In most cases, however, these potentialities are not realized. The young men are in competition with more firmly established residents who generally have larger holdings and first claim to the exploitation of unused land if it exists. Therefore, the tendency is for males who are members [167] of the residential kingroup *por madre* to emigrate and seek a living elsewhere. Females of course marry out and become bona fide members of their husbands' local groups.

THE POSITION OF IN-MARRIED WOMEN

562 613 621 618 [591] When a women marries patrilocally she attains membership in the residential kingroup and larger community of her husband. Her status changes once with marriage, again with motherhood, and is linked to that of her husband in the eyes of the community.

An in-married woman engages in group activities only to the extent that her husband does. As a group, women lack the corporate unity

which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that 562
women attain rests on the customary relationships among their 613
spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. 621
Women of the local group do not assemble for communal under- 618
takings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for [496]
certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not
without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent
on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility
is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision- [571]
making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind- [593]
the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and po-
litical gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women [535]
are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make [764]
up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth. [767]

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

562 613 621 618 an integrative factor among them as actual working relationships between their husbands. Consanguinity among in-married women does not serve to regulate interpersonal relationships in the absence of strong ties between their husbands, since they are under the authority of their respective spouses in most matters. The mutual interests of these women have to be community-based in order to be enduring and significant in terms of reservation membership.

613 562 754 An important consideration which might be made here, however, is that among these women fear of the mutual practice of sorcery is negligible. Without discussing the reasons for this, I make the flat statement that lineage "sisters" tend not to engage in sorcery against each other or against persons closely related to them: husbands, offspring, and so forth. This is not a female-associated characteristic as much as it is a lineage characteristic. The blanket statement could be made that *persons* of the same patrilineage do not engage in sorcery—or at least in certain forms of it—against each other. The point here is that women are notorious for their interest in witchcraft (no distinction being made between witchcraft and sorcery), and that in-married women are the ones most likely to practice sorcery against one another or against any other member of the residential kingroup or reservation community. This belief certainly makes for solidary relations among in-married women who are lineage sisters and who find themselves in the position of "co-wives" in a localized sublineage on *any* reservation.

613 562 If in-married women are actual sisters or close cousins, the bonds of sentiment and moral obligation established during their childhood and adolescence will certainly condition their interpersonal relationships throughout married life. When they are merely lineage sisters, or are linked through even more tenuous bonds, the kinship tie might not be strong enough to condition significantly their relationship after marriage. For example, such women might seek out one another during the first years of their marriage and coresidence—because they have greater confidence in each other than in other members of their residential kingroup—but if they are not congenial or if their husbands are not friends, they will eventually develop other more important friendships and interests. Despite the possibility of a consanguineal tie forming the basis for integration of a number of in-
[592] married women, therefore, their group relationships are generally friendship-based, in the context of affineship and common residence,

and in the last analysis depend on the harmonious relationship 613 562
among their respective spouses. [572]

With the passage of time, the social profile of the community changes through deaths, births, marriages, emigrations, and so forth. New alignments emerge among the older women of the reservation who now share years of common experience in the affairs, secular and religious, of the residential group. It is during later life, also, that their children become ready for marriage and that in-married women in the role of "father's sister" are important links between their natal kingroup and that of their husband and children.

SUBLINEATION

In this section we will be concerned with the development of sub- 613
lineages since the inauguration of the reservation system and the effect 178
of the growth of lineages on the solidarity and integration of the residential kingroup.

The prereservation *lofche* settlement was much smaller than pres- [621]
ent-day reservation settlements, and homogeneous rather than heterogeneous, judging from all reports — written and oral histories and registry records. The numerical significance of both the localized
lineage and the lineage group has increased beyond anything known [166]
in colonial or early republican times, owing to the fact that the reservation system has curtailed population movement within Araucanía. The localized lineages have tended to expand to the limits allowed by reservation resources, their size being linked to factors of land area,
land usage, technology, and general economic conditions. Emigration [169]
has served to limit reservation population growth.

There is nothing to indicate that the Mapuche had corporate lineages during most of the colonial and early republican period or that reckoning descent from a common ancestor was socially significant for more than a very small residential nucleus of most-closely related kinsmen or at a greater than two- or three-generational depth. It is suggested that the fragmentation of residential groups, brought on by unsuccessful warfare, economic pressures, and internal dissension, is related to this shallowness. The enforcement of the reservation system of 1884 did not create a "patrilineal principle" among the Mapuche, yet certain aspects of the program promoted an awareness of unilineal succession greater than that which appears to have existed in prereservation days — and corporate, localized patrilineages developed. In short, it became expedient to be able to trace gene-

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alogies back to the chief who held title to reservation land, the original holder of the *titulo de merced*, since questions of rights to reservation land hinge on this relationship. And this was both important and possible owing to the group's immobilization. Under reservation restrictions the localized lineage has ramified into localized sublineages which trace descent *directly* to a common ancestor, usually no more than several generations removed — that is, to an important ancestor who lived just before the reservation policy went into effect. Unimportant collateral ancestors have been forgotten.

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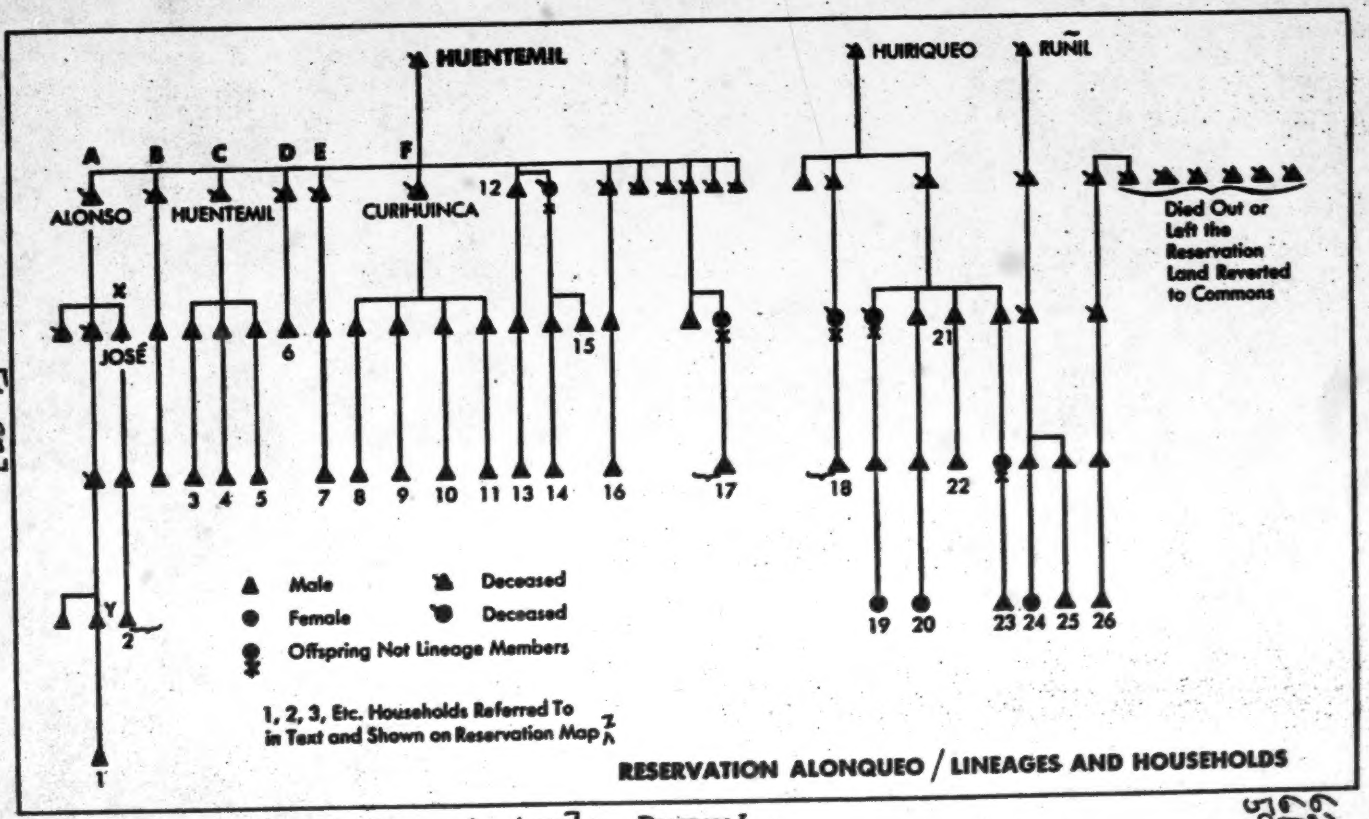
Diagram I represents lineage and household alignments on reservation Alonqueo. There are several unrelated kingroups of unequal size, importance, and viability on this reservation, which makes it representative of all but the tiniest reservations in Mapucheland. A discussion of the Huentemil maximal lineage will serve to indicate how sublineation has proceeded over the past few generations.

The diagram shows Huentemil as the recognized founder of a maximal (and dominant) patrilineage. He is generally agreed to have [595] had five wives and a large family, which comprised most of the residential kingroup in preservation times.

The males of the generation immediately below Huentemil are all said to have been brothers, but there is disagreement among informants as to which of them were full, half, or even classificatory brothers (i.e. parallel cousins). Since nothing in detail is remembered of the siblings, parents, or other relatives of Huentemil, there seems no way to clarify this uncertainty. It seems of utmost significance that, in view of this uncertainty, the several sublineages should all claim direct descent from Huentemil. He is actually remembered by a few of the oldest living members of the reservation community, although it is clear that much of what they recall of him is apocryphal. He is already shrouded in an aura of semimyth, well on the way to becoming one of the deified chiefs who walk with the sons of the gods. This indicates both the manner in which, and one of the reasons for which, the lineage system is frequently manipulated to include only ancestors of social importance. This genealogical maneuvering may take place on any generation. Eventually it is passed along as truth, and it is doubtful if such manipulation is ever a fully conscious fabrication. In general it may be said that collateral relationships are manipulated so that they converge and the actors become direct descendants at a generational level below that of the "founder" of the maximal lineage.

[p. 93]


HUENTEMIL
HUIRIQUEO
RUÑIL
A
B
C
D
E
F
ALONSO
HUENTEMIL
CURIHUINCA
JOSÉ
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Died Out or Left the Reservation Land Reverted to Commons
▲ Male
● Female
Deceased
Deceased
Offspring Not Lineage Members
1, 2, 3, Etc. Households Referred To in Text and Shown on Reservation Map Z/A

RESERVATION ALONQUEO / LINEAGES AND HOUSEHOLDS

DIAGRAM I

Z/A [See Cat. 116, P.32 -- Analyst]

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Characteristically, nothing is remembered of Huentemil's daughters or any "sons" who were not mentioned in the *título de merced.* From a comparison of genealogies with some other nearby reservations, it is clear that members of Huentemil's household married locally, affinal bonds with Huentemil's lineage being recognized as far back as the time of *radicación*. Thus, regardless of genealogical accuracy at this generational level, Huentemil's descendants and their affines on certain linked reservations are fully aware that the potentiality of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups existed possibly even before the reservation system localized the groups to which they now belong. While the genealogies tend to be forgotten and are in most cases unclear if not contradictory, the foundations of the present matrilateral marriage system seem to have been laid around the time of the inauguration of the present reservation system.

Huentemil's offspring recorded in the *título de merced* numbered thirteen, only six of whom are represented on the genealogical chart. Of the other seven, only three have living representatives in the community today, the rest either having died out or moved away. Sublineages that may be called viable are represented by numbers 1, 2, 3, and 6 on the diagram.

It is likely that the other sublineages will remain small and that number 4 will cease to exist with the death of its present male representative, Vicente. A further likelihood is that the sister of Vicente will marry, if she does at all, uxorilocally — that is, bring her husband to live on the reservation. This would provide a basis for the development of a new lineage within the limits of reservation Alonqueo, although it is unlikely that such a development would occur nowadays. Vicente holds 50-odd hectares of reservation land, enough to support five small families. It is likely that there would be no opposition from lineage elders to the formation of another lineage solely on the grounds that the land area could not permit such increase in the reservation population — that is, there would be no opposition solely on the grounds of economic expediency. However, reservation Alonqueo has petitioned for *división* into severalty holdings, which raises a political issue. Any increase in the number of residents who are not members of the present lineages would be resisted by the majority of reservation members — as a politico-economic measure. Such an addition to the population would very likely be deplored by most of those persons who are hoping to gain more land through *división* as well

as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong 613
chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact 613
recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of sev- 621
eral households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along 595
with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three 592
wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement.

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of 613
their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. 621
There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).[1] Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This
movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans [148]
and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain
segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained.

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves 613
to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The orig- 621
inal occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was 361
made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not

[1] [See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *titulo* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
167 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A2 gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population
[935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief* of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

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* Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233--- Analyst]

a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in 613 the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, 622 is less than in the extrareservational sphere. 648

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an 665 influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to 613 implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the 578 sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and counter- 754 charges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were 692 called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupport- 178 able in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often 613 resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal 578 group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the 622 chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation 681 had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the 622

613 [178] [622] lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied [665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their [428] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

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[551] [177] [6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [793] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

the majority of the other residents. The Curihuincas are among the oldest males on the reservation and are the most inclined to talk about the olden days, regarding themselves as traditionalists in a somewhat self-righteous manner. Bernardo, younger than his brothers, holds more land than both of them combined. At the death of the paterfamilias, Bernardo would have acquired a share of land approximately equal to that of his brothers. However, he was ambitious enough to strike out and clear land of his own. Nor was this due to family discord or pressure exerted by his brothers. He has laid claim to 20 hectares, much more land than he actually cultivates intensively. He has one of the few wooded sections of the reservation, which he considers private property, and also has some good grazing land. However, his sons have emigrated and all are not likely to return to the reservation. Bernardo lives with one of his unmarried daughters, who will possibly marry uxorilocally and inherit much of her father's holdings. Bernardo is opposed to *división*, in contrast to his brothers, who feel that they will receive more land if the reservation is divided into severalty holdings. 613

The above brief accounts indicate points of significance for an understanding of the relationships within and between sublineages. Lineage tensions are not necessarily between sublineages, as may be seen by the merging into one household of sublineage B and the X branch of sublineage A. Nor, in the example of the dissension in sublineage A, can it be said that all sublineages tend to become divided by competition among brothers. This may be seen by the fact that sublineage F is a fairly tightly integrated unit, even though one of the brothers is a protagonist of *división* and the others are opposed. Nor does their opposition align them with the chief, who is also in opposition to *división*.

DOMINANT AND SUBORDINATE LINEAGES

Without the protection afforded by the reservation system it is unlikely that Mapuche society could have survived as a culturally and socially distinct entity, and it is almost certain that it would not have developed along the lines which have characterized it since the turn of the century. The existence of dominant and subordinate lineages within the reservation communities is almost entirely an outgrowth of the reservation system itself, the conception and execution of which 613 621 178 [648]

613 have created the multilineage community as it is known today. The
621 story of this creation may be told quite simply.

178 After 1884 Chilean surveyors made the rounds in the indigenous
648 zone for the purpose of mapping reservations and registering the in-
habitants thereof. The Indians were asked who was their chief (ca-
[622] cique), and they frequently gave their answer in the politico-military
context suggested by the question. In short, the person designated as
chief, rather than *lonko* (head of kinship group), had usually held
[701] some minor position of military leadership during the recent rebel-
lion, leadership over a larger-than-kinship group. This latter group
was then registered as a single reservation community. This did not
occur in all cases, but the registry records indicate that it occurred
in most cases. Curiously, the Chilean government was instrumental
in establishing multikinship communities which had their founda-
tion in the war years—the very thing the reservation system was
designed to quash.

During the twenty-eight years it took before all reservations were
[166] mapped and registered, there was some mobility among that segment
of the Mapuche population which had not been registered on any
reservation or not registered to their satisfaction. Consequently small
groups moved from place to place within the indigenous zone look-
[622] ing for more adequate living conditions, and any number of these
obtained permission from chiefs to settle near them on unregistered
land. When the time came for mapping and census taking, these
remnant groups were incorporated in the newly formed reservation
community.

613 The descendants of the original chief have come to form the dom-
621 inant lineage on these multilineage reservations, descendants of un-
178 related kingroups now constituting subordinate lineages. Dominant
lineages are dominant in at least two senses—size and power. The
way they compare to the subordinate lineages may be seen by refer-
ring to Diagram I.* They are quite broad at the base, have undergone
significant sublineation, and, of course, trace descent to the original
title holder of the reservation. This connection has worked to their
advantage in acquiring the best land, their membership in the politi-
cally dominant group facilitating their claims to land during the
crucial, early phase of reservation life when the allocation of land was
[622] in the hands of the chief. Members of the subordinate lineages were
able to live on the reservation only by sufferance of the chief, at least
[167] in the early years of the reservation system. Their unfavorable posi-

*[See Cat. 116, p. 93--Analyst]

tion has encouraged members of successive generations to emigrate, 613
rather than to remain on the reservation. This is graphically indicated by the lack of sublineation and the narrow-based appearance as portrayed in Diagram I. The implications of dominant and subordinate lineages for the internal political structure of the reservation community will be discussed in the next chapter. 62 178 [167]

175 648 the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

642 [114] It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> [643] [613] [222] Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [724].

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and political organization of the reservation Mapuche was undergoing significant change, and a new social stability was achieved under the reservation chief.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

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[613]
[701]
It will be remembered that in time of peace the prereservation Mapuche lived in numerous autonomous groups under the leadership of a kinship elder, the *lonko*, and that the authority of the *lonko* was minimal and subject to rather easy circumvention. In the nineteenth century there seems to have occurred a crystallization of military powers in the hands of *lonkos* who were able to secure a following during time of hostility. But military defeat or even dissension within the group sufficed to negate the *lonko*'s authority, with the result that segments of residential groups tended to fragment off. There was [166] considerable physical mobility and continual population flux which operated to modify the composition of Mapuche society at the local-group level.

[701] To a large extent there was a transfer of military-like authority to the new peacetime office of chief. Ultimately, cessation of hostilities contributed to the waning of the chief's military power, but this development was in fact delayed by the reservation system, which vested the chief with important political status in dealing with Chilean governmental agencies.

[186] There was a carry-over of wartime sentiment manifest in pride of "race," of war exploits, of traditional cultural values, and the demonstration of a great deal of hostility and distrust against whites. Although the Chilean government kept the Mapuche under surveillance through its army and police force, the internal operation of the reservation communities was left in the hands of the Mapuche themselves. It seems that governmental agencies were not large enough or powerful enough at this time to enforce strict conformance to Chilean law throughout the extensive indigenous zone. This left great authority in the hands of the chiefs, who profited from anti-Chilean feelings among their people. The authority of the chiefs has diminished in the area of Mapuche-white relationships for a number of reasons, not least of which are the lessening of feelings of hostility toward the whites and the development of divergent economic interests among the reservation population.

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When land became limited and title to it vested in the chief and hedged in by governmental restrictions, the chief controlled the basic

wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life. 178 622 423 [578]

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration. [592] [613] [621] [578]

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court. 178 622 648 423 [692]

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of
residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-
reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were estab-
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control
over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation pro-
ceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independ-
178 ence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
622 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
[423] frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evi-
dence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the
area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

every male has some notion of the issue of *división*. As Titiev has 664 pointed out (1951:57n), the Mapuche tend to be suspicious of politicians, many of whom they regard as interested primarily in feathering their own nests. This holds for Mapuche politicians as well, but the feeling is not quite as strong in regard to their venality and opportunism. Nevertheless, politicians are often referred to as *hombres de negocios*, an expression which suggests that they are interested in their own personal gain and are ready to be bought out.

Reservation Mapuche seem to follow local leadership in aligning 664 themselves with or in opposing the platforms of the Indian pressure 666 groups. The Indian political societies in turn back candidates committed to their particular views. There is then a chain of political in- [622] fluence from local leadership, say a chief or another respected man on a reservation, through one of the Indian societies, to one of the national political parties having a favorable Indian "plank" in its platform.

At election time there is a considerable effort made to get out the 666 vote on the reservation. Local politicians or their backers ride out to 562 the country and hold political rallies. They harangue the Indians, make political promises, and ask for support. Although there is universal suffrage in Chile, few women vote. This is partly because there are fewer women able to pass the literacy test, [212] partly because few women hold identification cards (issued to all adults by the Chilean government), but primarily because political activity is considered a male concern. As more young women receive elementary-school education on the reservations, this picture will undoubtedly change.

Outside pressure is put on the males, however, and a great effort 666 is made to get them to the polls. The various candidates for office arrange for trucks to transport the voters from the reservations to the towns. On election day, which is a national holiday, there are always trucks on the roads and many carts which will take passengers. Incidentally, there is no ban on the sale of alcohol during the voting [273] hours, with the result that the election-day crowds throng the towns and frequent the wine and beer dispensaries looking for excitement and entertainment.

Political propaganda is distributed in the towns and at the rallies [208] in the country. Most of the handbills pass from one individual to another and are widely disseminated on the reservations, where they are explained to the illiterate. Although illiterates cannot vote, they [613]

666 often hold important positions in the reservation community, being
[613] elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

664 Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which
624 crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the
622 following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It
578 will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original
[428] title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These
[671] young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested
[648] only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

178 594 596 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing economic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple- [613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility — the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other — is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ- [127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by [114] informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,[1] which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[1] [See CAT. 116, PP. 229-233— Analyst]

household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms 178
of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing 594
sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married 596
women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single [054]
sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges [578]
and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interper- [613]
sonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage.
One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate
elementary-family households, which permits the continued associa-
tion of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

[592]

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED*		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, [597]
but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In [595]
addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted
only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming 594
the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households [241]
outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily [592]
indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them
to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary
family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite [613]
strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which
involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of
private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure
have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity.
Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household [602]
unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in
the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying signifi-
cance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

594 ·178 roof. Unless there is accord between father and son, the latter is likely to leave the reservation, for the father still controls the distribution of his land. But respect in this case is with regard to economic judgment. Even though there might be antagonism between father and sons in [613] the sphere of economic activities, sons are dutiful toward their father in the area of ritual activities, the father as elder member of the lineage enjoying a position of religious and moral importance. This relationship overrides the purely economic interests between family [596] members, whether domiciled under a single roof, in an extended-family compound, or dispersed on the reservation.

Husband-Wife Relationships

593 Marriage changes the status of a man and woman in relation to one another as well as to other persons and groups in the society. [591] [618] Under the traditional rules of patrilocal residence (by reservation) the woman makes the greater adjustment, since she leaves her natal group and becomes a member of her husband's residential kingroup. But the man, likewise, although not to the same extent as his wife, finds his activities modified and his relationships changed both with respect to his natal group and that of his wife.

Economic cooperation between husband and wife is close and complementary. Wives help with the field work when this is necessary; husbands with domestic chores when the occasion arises. In a well-organized household husband and wife continually discuss the state of the family's resources.

[562] Women exert an appreciable influence over their husbands, and many of their suggestions concerning subsistence activities are heeded. Although there is individual variation in this matter, a woman may very likely influence her husband in the sale of animals, growing specific amounts of crops, and in planting certain crops as opposed to others. She certainly is outspoken about the need to purchase items of household equipment and replace worn-out clothing, which demands are generally conceded as soon as funds or credit are available. While these decisions ultimately rest with the husband, an interested and competent wife is able to exert a directive influence.

[244] [462] [422] It is usually the case that the wife manages the vegetable gardens and the household with little interference from the males of the family. She is free to market the garden produce, chickens to which she might have given special attention, eggs, woven goods from her loom, and the like. In a well-functioning household, however, such

on the reservations I studied. Certainly nowadays a man would not 684
kill his wife unless he was frenzied and caught her in the act with 837
another man.

An unfaithful wife may be beaten by her husband without his receiving censure from the community or from his wife's kin, as long as they feel that his suspicion against her is well founded. Even so, such treatment is usually dealt out only when the husband is drunk [273] and morose. Drunken women also tend to tongue-lash unfaithful husbands.

In cases of repeated infidelity a man will send his wife away — 837
drive her from the house if necessary. There are usually only two 586
courses for her to take. One is to seek employment in a Chilean city. [167]
Few women are prepared to do this, it being more often resorted to by young, more acculturated girls, and for other reasons than marital disputes. The other, traditional, course is to return to her natal group, where she may have some claim to land through the largess of a kinsman or through having been one of the original *radicadas*, or where she might live with one of her close relatives.

If a husband is in the habit of getting drunk and manhandling [593]
his wife and children, it is customary for a neighbor — a member of [683]
his lineage — to intercede and advise the man against such action. [613]
This is a traditional manner of settling disputes where chieftainship [622]
is weak. It is said that chiefs formerly had authority to prevent such [627]
violence on the part of a man if they felt it was disruptive to community life. It is also said that wife beating in a communal or multifamily household occurred only when the husband was outraged and had the expressed sympathy of the rest of the male members; otherwise he would be shamed by such action.

In mentioning the discordant aspects of marriage it is not meant to imply that the husband-wife relationship is not generally enduring and satisfying. As a rule, husband-wife relationships tend to be harmonious, stable, and evidence a good deal of mutual affection and pride of family. The husband enjoys a traditionally dominant role. While his wife is customarily housebound by the nature of her duties she also enjoys freedom in going to the town market and visiting [574]
other households on her husband's reservation. She makes trips to her natal reservation and visits married sisters wherever they might be living.

A woman's loneliest years are those just after marriage, when she has been separated from her closest kin and has to make an adjust-

The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may 844
even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children
present, they will be chased out of the house. Only if labor is
very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing
on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an
older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In
any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult
birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded
by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is
heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both
she and her husband exude feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation.
To a large extent these are shared by other residents [846]
who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. [431]
Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal
bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the [572]
birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a 844
traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the 754
blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them
some distance from the *ruka*. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear
of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded
and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth
to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or
other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and
soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream
and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon
the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with
witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In
describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they
have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations
of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal
of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the
more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. 553
Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. [551]
This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, [603]
since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone
who stands in his place — that is, another elder of the lineage. The [613]
naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives [527]
and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.

always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were 594 often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity.

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family [613] and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world — although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons — and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large.

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and [592] daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are [587] tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households [167] composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each.

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and 593 there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions [601] based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half- [595] siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the [428] distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother).

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

593 dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their re-
lationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation
[626] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals.
Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the
parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently
among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, per-
haps with the exception of their father. Their children become the
closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional mar-
riage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their fa-
ther, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-
fashioned. They tend to be "social" companions, accompanying one
another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One
[584] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older
brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They
form the most productive work unit of the household or *lofche*, if
they live in an extended family, albeit under the guidance of their
father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

596 tension between generations, and between sisters-in-law, that is, between women of the newly incorporated elementary families. Eco- [182] nomic necessity and paternal authority, obverse sides of the coin, are forceful integrative factors. However, a certain measure of instability seems to inhere in the extended-family arrangement.

596 I have equated the extended family and the *lofche,* although the latter is physically distinct (or was so) from the former. The authority 613 structure is essentially the same whether the extended family is 621 domiciled under one roof or the component elementary families are living in adjacent houses. In the latter case, relationships among [606] members tend to be smoother insofar as the customary tensions be- [609] tween in-married women and their mothers-in-law or between the in-married women themselves is minimized. Economic cooperation is an important aspect of the *lofche* arrangement, although not as crucial to the solidarity of the unit as obligatory ritual cooperation. In [829] any case, the Mapuche rationalize the persistence of the *lofche* arrangement, as opposed to the single-house extended family, by saying [595] it serves to minimize tensions; and they maintain that this is of especial importance where polygynous (compound) families are concerned.

596 The extended family depends somewhat on economic exigencies or pressures and to a great extent on paternal authority for its existence. Its development and maintenance are contingent on these factors, for where economic necessity is not great enough or paternal authority weak, extended-family arrangements attenuate under the pressure of tensions they produce. The existence of extended families is in [182] large measure incompatible with the growing tendency toward "neolocality," notions of private ownership of fields, and, in short, with the emergence of relatively independent elementary families in the daily round of agricultural activities within the reservation community. The ritual leadership of the paterfamilias, more than the economic lever he holds with respect to "his" land, serves to maintain the corporate nature of these extended-family groups. Even after the [969] paterfamilias dies, his married sons continue the corporate relationship largely out of concern with the well-being of their father's spirit. This does not mean they might not tend to pull in separate directions, economically speaking; it means that they continue to constitute an especially tightly integrated segment of their lineage and that the eldest son assumes much of his father's leadership with respect to the

596 [606] rights and duties which characterize their relationship. There are changes contingent on marriage and extended-family living, however, which call for adjustments in interpersonal relations. Under the best conditions of kinship and previous friendship, the mutual adjustments are somewhat difficult.

As the paterfamilias and his wife become more and more inactive in managing the household and the subsistence activities, their economic importance and a good measure of their authority diminish. This might have a twofold effect on relationships within the extended [603] family. For one thing, grandparents who have passed their prime take a great deal of interest in the upbringing of the grandchildren, sometimes to the relief of the children's mother, sometimes to her [606] annoyance. Nevertheless, the grandmother relinquishes much of her control over the household management to her daughters-in-law at [607] this time. If the daughters-in-law have a more or less compatible relationship with one another, there is some improvement in the family situation.

[607] On the other hand, if the daughters-in-law are restive under a single roof, their increasing authority in relation to their mother-in-law may be sufficient to cause a rupture in their relationship which could lead to the establishment of an individual household for one of them and her husband and children. If the old man and his wife are dependent on their sons for support, the sons can make their father concede to a division of the extended household into a *lofche* arrangement. Once this occurs, the living conditions may be improved enough so that further discord will be minimized. This depends largely on the solidarity among the brothers. With an increasing development of the notion of individual proprietorship of land, however, the integrity of the *lofche* is also endangered.

[594] Within three generations a family may change from an elementary unit (that of the paterfamilias before his sons married) to an extended family (with the marriage of the sons) and back to several elementary families. The *lofche* arrangement is usually an intermediate step, although family histories and present conditions indicate that it need 596 not be. One result of the establishment of an extended family is the 423 retention of a solid block of land within the elementary kingroup, [613] the sublineage of grandfather, fathers, and sons; conversely, when the extended family segments, the individual elementary families exercise a claim on portions of the fields. While severalty holdings are not recognized on reservations under Chilean law, usufructuary

rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views. 596 423

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land- [592] holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even [178] though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is [428] approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land [583] makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded [613] a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married [428] sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer [154] feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of [166] course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up [578] the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society. [664]

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this 595 basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

595 589 968 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the
[554] number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men. They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do
[831] [837] not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

[594] [594] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

595 419 [613] When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that
[169] it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

[613] [618] [587] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a mem- 595
ber of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a 428
lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her 613
children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. 618
There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings
which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the 587
tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If
the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose
residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious 554
status[a] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they 548
are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne 848
an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

[a] [i.e.—children living on the reservation of their mother's second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather—Analyst]

unless the young couple take matters into their own hands and run away from the reservation altogether. If they run away, a good deal of the responsibility rests with the father of the young man, and strained feelings result between the two families. 583

When all goes well, however, and the parents of both accept the elopement, marriage plans are begun in earnest. The young woman might return to her family household in the interim to assist in the completion of her trousseau. This interlude gives both families time to prepare the marriage wealth and settle many marriage details. Negotiations are practically identical whether or not elopement occurs. 583 584

Kureyewen, then, serves to hasten marriage, provided the alliance is viewed favorably by both families. It may also result in a nontraditional marriage and in the young couple's leaving the reservation. If it is successful, the couple remain with the young man's parents for several days, while the father's brother and one or more kinsmen go to the girl's house and formally notify her parents that marriage is proposed and that they are desirous of coming to an amicable agreement, with the appropriate ceremonial conclusion as tradition dictates. Essentially the same procedure is followed if the marriage is initiated wholly by arrangement without elopement as a factor, but the girl would not have left her parental roof. The preliminaries might be more difficult to settle, since the young man would have to convince his father and his spokesmen of the propitiousness of the marriage without the catalytic aid of elopement. Furthermore, the father of the girl would be in a position to delay the marriage as long as his daughter was in his household. There would be no sense of urgency, and, even though both families were sympathetic toward the marriage, preparations could be drawn out almost endlessly. It sometimes happens that elopement takes place precisely at the point when arrangements seem to have bogged down.

In any case, a serious young man generally will have busied himself with preparations for marriage by obtaining some commitments from his father and kinsmen for getting together the bride-price, in order to supplement whatever wealth he might possess in his own right. He will very likely have spoken abstractly of marriage with a number of his relatives and will have some idea of what their contributions might be.

Lineage contributions are of considerable symbolic importance, 583
but the material assistance given the young man is not necessarily [613]
great.

ervation system entirely. This seems a phenomenon related to scarce 586 land. [167]

Separation is most often the result of mistreatment or abandonment. In the first case, the woman leaves her husband's reservation, perhaps returning to her own. In the second instance, she generally remains on her husband's land, at least until she is certain that he has no intention of returning. Separation, if it appears permanent, is equivalent to divorce.

During her husband's absence a woman might become involved [837] in a sexual alliance with another man. This is generally condoned by the community if it seems evident that the woman has been deserted. It becomes complicated if the man is not a lineage brother of her husband and if she intends marrying or living permanently with him. Under these circumstances she could not remain on the reservation, unless perhaps her intended spouse were a member of another resident patrilineage.

Her children retain rights as members of their father's patrilineage, 613 but they may have to move off their father's reservation with their 428 mother and her lover, their absence thus weakening their claims to [586] land. The children born to the second alliance of course have no status in their half-siblings' lineage. They are members of their own father's patrilineage and residential kingroup. If their father resides [618] uxorilocally on their mother's reservation, however, they become incorporated into their mother's brother's residential kingroup while maintaining membership in their father's lineage. This lineage membership, however, often carries few actual rights if their father's relations with his natal group are weak—they have no real claim to land there, for example, although they have rights in theory. While their theoretical rights are acknowledged, all sorts of reasons can be mustered for their not gaining access to farmland on their father's reservation. As previously mentioned, these socially dislocated young men are in an unenviable position. They frequently leave the reservations [464] to become laborers on Chilean farms or in towns or attempt to [167] become career soldiers or policemen.

The answer to the question, "Why does one not marry a mother's sister's daughter?" is self-evident, provided by the matrilateral system itself. Thinking in terms of an ego chart might tend to confuse the matter, though, so a word of explanation is in order. If mother's sister has married according to the preferred rule, she is then the wife of a member of one's own lineage (e.g. a father's brother) and herself a member of one's residential kingroup. Her daughter is a classificatory sibling and, as such, proscribed. If mother's sister marries a man from another lineage, as sometimes happens, the pattern has been broken and grounds for a feeling of "distance" in the relationship have been laid. In short, the daughter of this woman is considered a matrilateral relative (though no longer of one's mother's lineage) and a potential, if not preferential, spouse. 582

These remarks should not be construed as an attempt to explain the origin of matrilateral preference. There are indications that symmetrical cross-cousin marriage might have been practiced during the early colonial period (Faron, 1956:440 ff.), and that because of a change in residence patterns and the composition of local groups, greater emphasis was placed on multiple marriages with the maternal kingroup. But the vagueness of such historical material makes for quite tentative hypotheses of the sort which would not clarify contemporary Mapuche marriage practices. [178]

THE MOTHER'S BROTHER AND THE FATHER'S SISTER

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Strong ties between families are usually implied in situations where traditional matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is practiced. The Mapuche tend to see the relationships in terms of actual family members, in regard to which traditional pre- and postmarital behavior is discussed. The matter can be elucidated only if we discard this "ideal" way of looking at things in favor of examining the actual group-to-group relationships that exist. We take exception to the somewhat vague Mapuche feeling that marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter was prevalent and almost obligatory a generation ago, maintaining that this is a cultural device for describing in highly personal, familial terms a relationship which has great solidary significance for suprafamilial units, for two localized lineage groups maintaining a relationship of sustained intermarriage. In any case, the supposed prevalence of marriage with "real" mother's brother's daughter is

582 not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered.
613 Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the
[604] notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with
[604] the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his
future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the
closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's
601 sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly
aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure
it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously
described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard
ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links
which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from
"classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood
that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols
for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these
categories – and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real"
and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[3]

582 Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins,
children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section,
I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness."
[584] A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's
sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost
never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies
show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law
[604] relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own
children married one another.

[114] [3] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of *authority* and *sentiment*, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

582 daughter marriage being *admapu* a generation or so ago, they place
178 emphasis on the "or so," pushing the ideal type back in time to around
the beginning of the reservation system or even before. In the time of
[613] which they speak, there is good evidence to show that marriage was
strictly an interhousehold affair, there being no localized corporate
patrilineages. But what they speak of does not describe the ongoing
marriage system, the system which has been in existence since around
the turn of the century.

582 In any case, marriage with classificatory mother's brothers' daughters is regarded as somehow less traditional and, therefore, not correct. It is sometimes said that custom was satisfied if only one of several brothers married his mother's brother's daughter, and the occasional occurrences of such marriages in the genealogies are said to represent this condition, *admapu* being cleverly or at least purposely circumvented. This does not tell why all the available "real" mother's brothers' daughters were not married by their "real" father's sisters' sons before classificatory cross-cousins became involved. It certainly smacks of rationalization. It might serve to shed some doubt on arguments for the existence of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage based on bonds of *sentiment* between sister's sons and mother's brothers.

The principal objections to the Mapuche model are that it is conceived from an ego point of view in a postmarital set of relationships, that it deals with "real" mother's brothers (cf. Titiev, 1951:42, 46, concerning Mapuche inability to generalize about certain relatives), and that it is phrased in terms of individuals rather than groups. Among the Mapuche, matrilateral marriage is a phenomenon of
[613] group interaction. One's mother serves as a bridge to marriageable women of her lineage, the daughters, granddaughters, and younger sisters of both "real" and classificatory mother's brothers.

Diagram II is a model constructed along lineage lines, localized descent groups, and is patterned after models which appear in connection with unilateral marriage systems in anthropological literature. It has its inadequacies, but it will serve for a preliminary discussion.

I have shown only three generations, ego's and the two ascending, because as a young man these are ego's most important relatives, even though he could conceivably have "great-grandparents" and very likely "nephews and nieces." Those of the generation below ego become important as he in turn becomes a "mother's brother" of social significance. I am speaking now in the context of matrilateral crossp 193

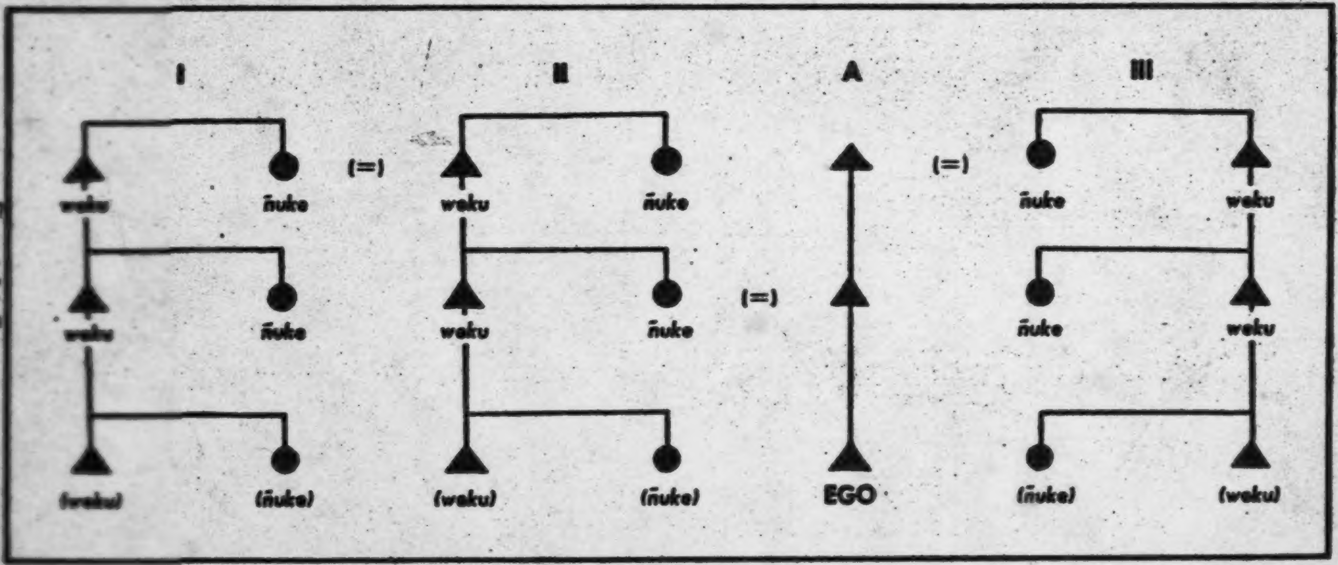
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DIAGRAM II

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582 cousin marriage and not with respect to interpersonal relationships of other sorts. A mother's brother customarily dandles his sister's [604] children on his knee, bestows presents upon them, is something of a confidant of his nephews in later life, and so forth; but all this is not necessarily pertinent to preferential marriage, at least not in the sense that being so treated a nephew will very likely marry his uncle's daughter because of the closeness of his relationship with his maternal uncle. If it is taken to be so, then the following question should be answered. Why do the Mapuche speak of closeness, even of warmth and confidence, in the uncle-nephew relationship and yet maintain [606] that a man in his father-in-law's house is made uncomfortable because of in-law avoidance? The strongest bonds of sentiment are between the "close" relatives who, according to genealogies, tend not to marry. I think it is the marriage with the "real" mother's brother's daughter which might be better explained in situational terms in the case of the Mapuche.[4]

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582 Diagram II is designed to tell the following story. A special relationship has come about involving four localized lineages (I, II, III, and A) through what I have shown to be a minimum of three strategic marriages. It is not the intention of the diagram to unite any two persons by the marriage symbols, the reason for their being enclosed in parentheses. Rather, *some* marriage is indicated as having taken place at the generational levels shown. This takes the diagram out of the standard ego-chart class, since no "real" relatives, even in ego's lineage, are necessarily indicated.[5]

Lineage I gave a woman to a man in lineage II; lineage III gave a woman to a man in lineage A. At this stage there is no particular harm in phrasing the relationships in terms of single individuals, since it might be assumed that no previous marriages had taken place between the groups.[6] On the next generation, lineage II also gave a woman to lineage A. From an ego point of view we now have these

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[4] Guevara, 1908:37, writes that it was customary for the children of cousins to marry.

[5] If the actors are taken to be "real" and united through the marriages shown, then *weku* in lineages I and II would read *chethki* at the grandparental generation and, likewise, *weku* in lineage III would read *laku*. Similarly, *ñuke* in lineages I and II would read *chuchu* and in lineage III would read *kuku*. The other terms would remain the same (cf. Faron, 1956:449).

[6] This diagram suggests the beginning of sets of matrilateral relationships within a matrilateral system, and has nothing to do with the development of matrilateral principles per se.

582 613 relationships between the four lineages: lineage I is that of the mother's mother, lineage II is that of the mother, lineage III is that of the father's mother. By extending descent lines to the great-grandparental generation two more groups could be added, those of the mother's mother's mother's and father's mother's mother's lineages. More will be said about this later when the significance of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups is considered.

Under the rules of matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage, the exogamous group is defined, and men from lineage I do not take wives from II, but stand in the relationship of wife giver and wife receiver, respectively. That is the logic of the system. Sometimes it is circumvented, but always under special circumstances and erratically. Lineages II and III also give women to lineage A, and under the system this is not reversible. But A may take wives from lineage I. Here we begin to glimpse the flexibility of the matrilateral marriage system in practice.

582 Age differences are not shown in the diagram either between or within "generations." Ego has preferred mates (*ñuke*) on his father's generation, on his own, and, as a mature adult, on the first descending generation. Actually, a man tends to marry women of roughly his own age or younger, although these may be genealogically on his father's generation. Depending on how many generations descent is traced back in time, a man could have marriageable women of the genealogical *grandparental, great-grandparental, etc., generations.* 602 However, the Mapuche usually do not keep track of kinship ties beyond the third ascending generation with any accuracy. Marriage with women known to be on the genealogically parental generation is not common, and that with women on the genealogically grandparental generation extremely rare. Stated differently, *under the conditions given in the model,* the range of cognatic relatives of marriageable degree is pretty much that indicated in Diagram II. It must be understood that most of the available women (*ñuke*) on a wife-giving reservation will be roughly ego's age or younger, the older women married and living elsewhere.

THE SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

In view of the foregoing discussion, I think it is now time to abandon the phrases "mother's brother's daughter marriage" and "matriinsofar as preferred matrilateral marriages are concerned. Conceptualization of this order eliminates the necessity of establishing exact genealogical connections for the twofold purpose of marrying exogamously and marrying matrilaterally. 582

If, for example, a man's forbears married women from X lineage, localized on a certain reservation, he might look there for a wife knowing only that there had been an affinal relationship established in the past. Being directly related to a single family through, say, the marriage of a "grandfather," he has access to all the marriageable females of his paternal grandmother's lineage or, if his own father had so married, to his mother's lineage females, which is the same thing. However, if father and grandfather had married into different groups, our hypothetical ego would have at least two possibilities for marrying matrilaterally. If we change from an individual (ego) to a group (lineage) point of view, we may say that ego's lineage can obtain women from these two wife-giving groups. 582 613

It will be remembered that the Mapuche practiced polygyny on a grand scale, *lonkos* having many wives and *konas* having two or more. Polygyny involved sororal marriage and widow inheritance. These customs are only now dying out, the practice of polygyny beginning to diminish after the inception of the present reservation system around the turn of the century, and for good and sufficient demographic and ecological reasons. 595 582 613 [182]

If ego's father married two women from different lineages, ego would have two different wife-giving groups. So would all his "brothers," "father's brothers," and so forth. If ego's father's brother married a woman from yet another lineage, then ego would have three lineages of wife givers from which to choose, and so would the rest of his lineage males. If ego's mother's brother does not marry matrilaterally, then ego, in marrying mother's brother's daughter, also establishes a tie with another wife-giving group. The actual degree of kinship and certain obvious situational factors define the meaningfulness of such connections.

The operation of polygyny, in which a man takes women from several lineages, establishing as many wife-giving lineages for the males of his own lineage, has created a network of relationships much more complex than the simple pairing of wife givers and wife receivers in a circular system or otherwise would suggest. These ties have ramified almost beyond the possibility of determination by tra-

582 595 613 ditional ethnographic techniques, but it seems likely that the whole of Mapuche society is linked together by matrilateral marriage connections. The sororate and widow-inheritance forms of polygyny have tended to limit the number of wife-giving groups in relation to any single lineage. The decline of polygyny in general is also having this effect. There is a tendency to take wives from a limited number of the groups, provided wives are available, and a fear of witchcraft inhibits marriage into unrelated groups. Still, the system is vastly more complicated and flexible than has been described for certain other peoples practicing preferred matrilateral marriage.

582 613 There is, of course, no fixed number of marriage segments in Mapuche society. Indeed, each time the matrilateral pattern is broken and a man marries into an unrelated group, an additional unit of potential wife givers is brought into a matrilateral category with reference to another group. I do not suggest that the matrilateral pattern is broken frequently. If this were the case the Mapuche marriage system would be other than it is. Rather, I simply indicate that such marriages are variations which are handled within the matrilateral framework.

When, through polygyny or otherwise, several groups of potential wife givers are brought into relationship with a wife-receiving group, the offspring of the various women involved have their closest bonds in kinship with their actual mother's group. That is, a man has the closest relationship with his real mother and tends to look for a wife of her lineage or reservation, where he may have access to any of the mother's real or classificatory "brothers' daughters." This tendency to marry a woman from one's actual mother's lineage by no means lessens the flexibility of the matrilateral system, but it does seem to contribute to the greater unity of the sublineages within one's own localized lineage.

On reservation Alonqueo, males who are today between sixty and seventy years of age took almost all their primary wives from a single nearby reservation. Men between the ages of forty and fifty took some women from this reservation, but also ranged farther afield. There was nothing random about this, since, except for a few cases they married into the lineages from whence their mother's brothers had obtained wives (i.e. mother's mother's lineage). In addition, there are also marriages between Alonqueo men and women from lineages which we have previously designated as those of the father's mother. This general situation is indicated on the "lineage map" below.

WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE RECEIVERS

The "lineage map" (Diagram III) is a simplification and schematically arranged picture of wife-giving and wife-receiving patterns among lineages A through M on six reservations in the Roble Huacho region southeast of Temuco (see Map I).[2] The arrows represent the flow of women from group to group. The data are incomplete to the extent that some of the smaller lineages are not represented and there are possibly additional marriage ties between those shown which I failed to record. Only marriages with nearby reservations are indicated, there being perhaps as many more-distant groups related as wife givers and wife receivers. Furthermore, the arrows indicate only the direction in which women pass, not the number of women involved. Since I worked full-time on only one of the reservations in this region, I was unable to obtain complete information for others 582 613 [14]

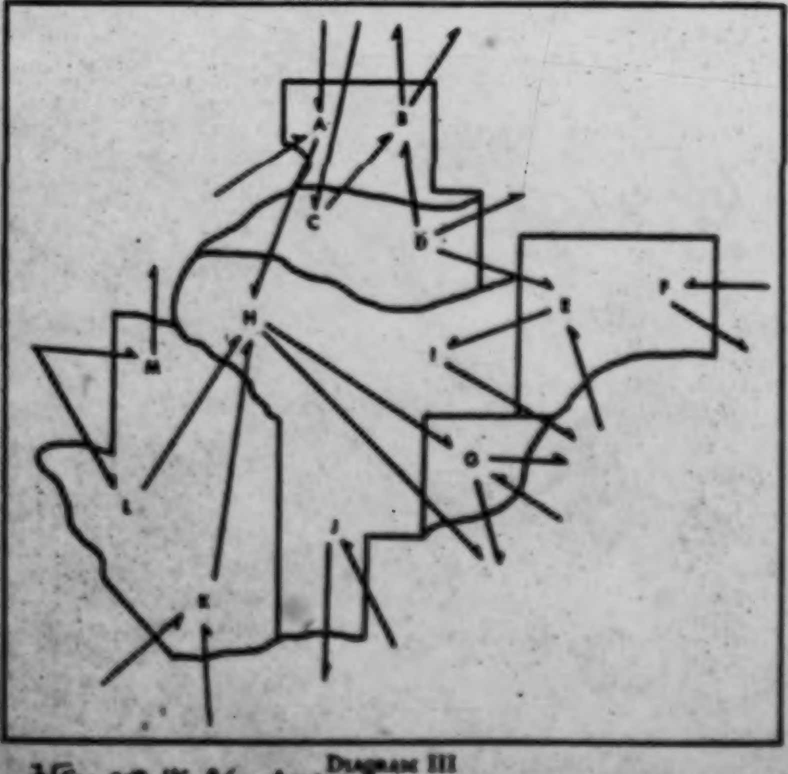

DIAGRAM III

[2] [See CAT. 1K, P.6 --ANALYST]

582 613 114 during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance involved, some 25 square miles in total area between more than 200 households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Toltén during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

621 The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

582 613 621 It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

582 613 [602] On almost any large reservation a young man will be hazy about actual genealogical ties even among his patrilineal relatives. Concerning affinal ties between lineages of different reservations, genealogies are altogether sketchy. Because the lineages are fixed on reservations, that is, are localized descent groups, they will be known as proper affines who stand in the relationship of either wife giver or wife receiver to one's own lineage, or a segment of it. There will be one or more individuals in, say, a wife-giving group who will be called "mother's brother" (*weku*), through whom a young man may obtain the sort of assistance necessary for gaining access to one of the lineage females, *ñuke*. The exact genealogical relationship need not be known, and in many cases, if it is figured out, the reckoning is done rather in the spirit of an interesting game than for the purpose of determining the propriety of marriage. The mother's brother–father's sister relationship must be considered in this framework, rather than in terms of individuals nicely placed on an ego chart.

The structure of matrilateral marriage, then, consists of a network of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups, none of which necessarily (i.e. in conformance with marriage rules) takes wives from or gives wives to only one complementary group. This tendency is noted for segments of the lineage group, and for this very reason the localized lineage as a whole is internally differentiated in regard to the flow of women. One of the effects of these diffuse marriage relationships is to integrate a considerably larger number of lineage groups than is indicated in Diagram III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM: COMPETITION FOR WIVES

[27] Much of the following discussion is based on historical material and is indicative of the changing structure of relationships involved. Although the uncertain nature of historical data is a consideration which might render the argument somewhat hypothetical, it nevertheless is sufficient to provide perspective for and insight into the operation of the present system.

There is no evidence for the existence of localized patrilineages, as they are known today, in the colonial and early republican era. During most of this long period there was recurrent population flux which made for instability in the composition of local groups. Kin-groups fragmented and dispersed into small residential groups, rather

582 613 than developing a large and localized membership. Relationships between these fragments were quite tenuous and were not sustained.

[592] Under these circumstances it seems more appropriate to view marriage as an arrangement between extended-family households, rather than between corporate groups such as the localized lineages of today represent. The mobility of the population appears to have prevented intermarriages between two households from continuing over several generations, since groups shifted their locations and lost contact with one another.

582 Where the so-called "obligatory" cross-cousin marriage has been treated in the literature concerning the Mapuche, it seems often to have been regarded literally as marriage between the two individuals as represented on the ego chart (e.g. Titiev, 1951:48, 50, 79, 98, *et passim*). We have seen that this confined or highly restricted type of marriage does not occur with appreciable frequency today, nor is there any evidence that it was prevalent at any time since the inception of the reservation system. It might, however, have been the pattern in the troubled prereservation era, when local groups were small and shifting, and marriage was contracted between groups only as long as they remained in touch with one another. In this case, the probability seems greater that "real" mother's brothers' daughters and father's sisters' sons would have been involved more often than today. Even then, *however, polygynous and extended-family arrangements* would have served to complicate the overly schematic presentation found in the literature.

[595] Polygyny was an important factor of the prereservation era and operated to limit a young man's opportunities to obtain a wife. The disposition of women was in the hands of the parental generation, and insofar as secondary marriages involved a woman in the category of wife's brother's daughter, a young man's potential range of cross-cousin mates was restricted. To the extent that this is so, the situation correlates with a tendency to marry late, a pattern rationalized in [585] terms of military duties and the notion that full adult status was not acquired until a man reached the age of thirty or forty. It is also logically consonant with the practice of filial inheritance of wives. Diagram IV, 1, indicates this condition schematically, and should not be considered an attempt to portray ethnographic reality.

582 601 613 There is a tie-in between marriage practices and kinship terminology which is important in understanding the Mapuche system of patri-organization in the prereservation period. The strong patrilineal

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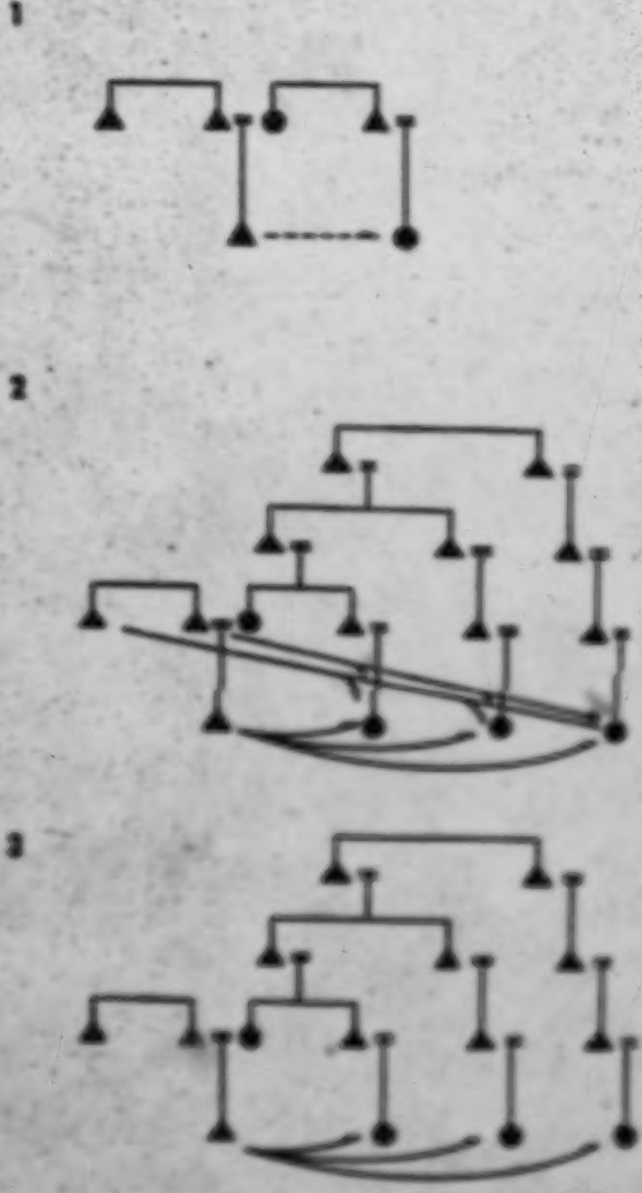

[p. 208]

Diagram IV

582 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the im-
601 mediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of
613 Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as
yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transi*tional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late mar*riage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline
[595] in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men
[598] increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations en-
gendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of 582
expediency. 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the de- 613
cline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[8] Whereas formerly, in the prereservation era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head [632]
who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modification in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage [198]
patterns.

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier 583
about land as a factor of utmost importance in the negotiation of 581
marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices.

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

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[8] This is the point made explicit by Gifford, cited and disputed by Leach, 1951:50. Leach writes that, "Gifford does not appear to have recognized that such [114]
an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapucheland such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in postreservation times and that postreservation conditions were consonant with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in prereservation days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before sedentary reservation life permitted and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups.

583 [584] however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

423 594 An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *titulo de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of radicación. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the [422] [439] produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she [589] [613] is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice [illegible] in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children, with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

583 586 [illegible] [198] In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

583 582 [613] Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

423 582 [167] There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration 592
is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The [828]
emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, [167]
many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage
until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment
of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number [589]
of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the
late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are
no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the [595]
previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and
declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition [578]
for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a
tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and
migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been
that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the
son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected 601
in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the 121
Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially
historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility
of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby
leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the
"unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both
of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of
which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a
nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation
and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to
uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology
is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social
system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained
historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change
in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in 613
marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage 584
wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning
the details of kingroup participation, the impression they
leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the
arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition
of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under
different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period, [622]

584
613
[622]

it is clear that the chief played an important role in marriage arrangements through granting rights of residence to the bride and providing land for the groom. The chief of a generation ago is said to have had a similar role, insofar as he represented lineage decisions in matters of marriage. This need not be taken at face value. Today, the chief's importance in these situations is relatively inconsequential. Even the groom's lineage rarely takes an active part as a whole in marriage negotiations, the sublineages being the most important groups in the arrangement of marriage. While it is actually the minimal lineage of the groom that provides him land and other necessities for setting up his new household, this unit always operates as a responsible segment of the entire localized lineage.

9

Ritual Congregationalism

Organized religious ceremonies take place within a framework of 613
sustained relationships among lineage groups, relationships which involve 628
the regular participation of units in a multireservational ritual 794
congregation. This congregation tends to coincide with the regional (local) expression of the matrilateral marriage system. In short, a nucleus of wife-giving and wife-receiving units linked together in a sustained relationship of matrilateral marriage also comprise constituent parts of the ritual community.

A central feature of Mapuche religious morality is the concept of a [769]
relationship of mutual dependence sustained between the living and their ancestors. This represents a kin-based morality, symbolized by the extension of appropriate kinship terms among members of the
ritual congregation. The special relationship between the living and [964]
the dead is expressed most dramatically in funeral (*awn*) rites and [241]
agricultural fertility (*ñillatun*) ceremonies. Each of these ceremonies unites a number of lineages and reservations in concerted ritual
action. A discussion of the manner in which these rituals are enacted [182]
will serve to indicate the integrative force of Mapuche morality on a multireservational level of social action.

Mapuche religious belief involves the propitiation of authentic ancestors 776
of the lineage, the deification of mythical ancestors, attention 613
to a pantheon of gods who receive regional emphasis, and sup- 769

776 plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as ob-
613 served in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral
[769] spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites
[241] are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñene-*
794 *chen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called
[754] *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

793 The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living
241 are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun*
613 ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patri-
764 lineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in
756 the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

756 The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and
[793] act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The
[794] shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any
[613] community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia in-
[534] cludes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke
[765] over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often be-
[787] comes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi*
[798] who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Never-
[787] theless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil 756
spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential [787]
evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. [754]
While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not [794]
operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation 782
is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility 241
rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate [794]
the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the [775]
gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the [622]
pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and [776]
goddess of the Southwind (*huillifuche* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, [778]
there is a mythical account of the special connection between this [613]
sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set 241
of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* 794
ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host [628]
unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible members* (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, [793]
ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are [622]
integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically [613]
separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended [628]

241 794 628 to certain other reservations in the neighborhood via the elders of their constituent lineages, the extension serving as a partial definition of membership in any ritual congregation. Within the congregation there tend to be several nuclei, the reservations of which take annual responsibility for staging their own *ñillatun*. Invitations are extended throughout the congregation. As a geographical and social entity, the congregation has its periphery, consisting of those units which may participate with more or less equal frequency in the ceremonies of two congregational units. Disregarding other implications of this phenomenon, I merely call attention to the fact that there is thus formed a chain of congregational units, overlapping on their peripheries, which binds together total Mapuche society in a single expression of religious morality.

Many of the reservations which comprise any ritual congregation are also linked by bonds of marriage among them, in the matrilateral [595] framework described in the previous chapter. Since polygyny – which seems to have been conducive to the establishment of far-reaching marriage links – has declined in frequency, the effectively marriage-linked reservatioms tend to correlate closely with the extension of the ritual congregation. The extension of performance rights and obliga- [612] tions to in-married women involves the various wife-giving and wife-receiving sets in a single ritual entity, a structure of reciprocal rights and duties.

794 613 [582] [178] This is not the place to present the ethnographic data which are necessary to explicate the nature of the correlation between the matrilateral marriage system and the ritual congregation. Both religious activities and marriage patterns have changed since the Mapuche became established on reservations. A resultant phenomenon of these changes is that the lineages involved in intermarriage and ritual action have tended to coincide. A crucial point to be made here, however, is that there can not be a complete correspondence between the extension of marriage units and congregational units – unless the Mapuche system of religious morality were to become transformed into a quite different system. This is the case because marriage-linked non- [754] congregational lineages serve the important function of scapegoats in placing the blame for homicidal sorcery. Death and illness are super- [753] naturally induced, through the agency of *kalku* and *wekufe*. Blame for death by witchcraft, insofar as it is attached to *kalku* rather than [754] to the free-floating forces of evil, is generally placed outside the ritual congregation, usually with a group which is connected to that of the

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which 794
was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, 613
through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, 754
and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance 241
around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride 535
with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial [778]
field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, [534]
any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances.
At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* [793]
from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the
throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo [782]
of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long
ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the partici- 241
pant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral 791
community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion 764
much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral [771]
ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral as-
semblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on [774]
successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member
of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring [795]

764 775 the deceased's spirit an uneventful journey to the proper resting place of the dead. This afterworld, viewed as a shadow world similar though better than that of the living, forms a very real segment of Mapuche society. Departed spirits constitute links between the living [776] and the mythical ancestors and other figures in the pantheon. Ancestral spirits are implored to protect the recently deceased from capture [754] by *kalku* who are desirous of converting the newly released spirit into a bloodsucking force of evil which would contribute to the misfortune of the living.

764 613 The most intimately involved and most responsible persons participating in any funeral service are those of the patrilineages of which the deceased is either a member by birth or an affine. Taking a pair of spouses as point of reference, the lineages most intimately involved would be those of the husband and wife, each of which provides at least one *wewpin*, regardless of which spouse has died. The task of the *wewpin* is to speak the praises of the dead, offer a genealogical accounting of his status with respect to his lineage and that to which he is united by marriage, and pray to lineage ancestors to the end that they assist the dead person's spirit in avoiding capture by the forces of evil.

764 613 628 The ceremony is always held on the husband's reservation under normal patrilocal conditions. The unrelated lineages resident on this reservation, or at least the elders of these lineages, are under strong moral compulsion to attend the funeral ceremony. Likewise, representatives of the entire wife-giving reservation, in addition to members of the wife's lineage thereon, are under obligation to attend. By this action they absolve themselves before the gods and the assemblage of complicity in the crime of homicidal sorcery. While the festive [754] aspects of funerals, the drinking and eating and conviviality of the assemblage, are partly responsible for the attendance of other people living in the neighborhood, as members of the moral community these too are under a certain measure of compulsion to make an appearance or to send representatives. As a rule, remorse is deeply felt by all participants and it is highly problematical whether the compulsive aspect of attendance should be viewed primarily with respect to social interaction among the living or with regard to human fear and humility before the forces of good and evil, constituting as they do such an important part of the Mapuche social ambient. Except for analytic purposes, these aspects of obligation are deeply mingled

and are separable only with utmost difficulty by even the most astute 613
Mapuche informant. 764

The core of most responsible lineages at *any* funeral shifts, of 628
course, depending upon the lineage membership and affinal ties of
each of the spouses. In this respect the assemblage at successive funerals
is not as consistently the same as that participating in the fertility
rites year after year. Nevertheless, throughout one's lifetime one
participates in numerous funerals and over the decades the total
membership of the ritual congregation is involved time and again on
occasions of *awn* and *ñillatun*. There is, therefore, a single moral or [794]
ritual community having regional expression and involving the sustained
participation of the same reservation groups which constitute
the congregation. All members of the ritual community are interested
in demonstrating their pureness of heart (*kume piuke*), to which
their participation attests.

The single most important integrative force operative in Mapuche 182
society is the system of values which constitutes the fundament of 771
religious morality. This value system is overwhelmingly the sustaining
force in interpersonal relationships and it extends beyond the [571]
bounds of any one localized lineage or any single multilineage reservation.
It is a most compelling force within any regionally defined [794]
ritual congregation. But in addition to this, through the uniformity
of the system of morality which extends over all Mapuche reservations,
regional blocks of reservations are linked together into a cultural,
ethnic, and social entity which constitutes the Mapuche world
of the living and the dead. A man striving for economic survival
gears his daily efforts to the practical surroundings of which his wife
and children, his fields and animals comprise the most immediate
physical elements. But his activities and thoughts are also geared to [613]
the system of religious morality in which his closest kinsmen – those
of his lineage and that of his wife – and coresidents participate. Being 619
a Mapuche means more than simply residing in a thatched hut on a 182
reservation. Reservation status inevitably involves a Mapuche in a
ritual and moral community, membership in which conditions economic,
political, and marital relationships. Mapuche morality would
not long survive in the relative isolation of a single reservation community.
It depends for its vitality on the nexus of several reservations
united in a ritual nucleus and in sets of wife-giving and wife-receiving
units which sustain the total social structure. These are the fibers of

to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and 648
again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, 182
to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet 105
happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new
symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the
reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliter-
ation, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of res-
ervation social structure. 105

Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace 177
with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean 213
government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup 182
are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically 222
with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter 618
group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did,
and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide
the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship
affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional
rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyal-
ties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and
more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage. 105

The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to func- 177
tion as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which 621
rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a 618
localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of
ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential [794]
kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of
moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to
homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the [476]
area of greatest social change – the economy – and cooperative ven-
tures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the build-
ing and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches,
schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche [182]
society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes"
in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished
from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter,
distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and
those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve com-
munity effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group [591]
membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached
person should be kept clearly in mind.

105 177 186 [619] The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[1]

177 182 105 A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautin Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. [641 631 793] Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. [592 613] Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[175] [1] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and manifested a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1961, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

105 Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they
177 are virtually sealed off from Chilean acquisition of their land.
177 Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural
[649] economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and technologically anachronistic dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small
[433] family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen
[241] the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the weft of
[613] their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based patrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fiber of Mapuche morality.

186 This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural
182 consciousness" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Ma-
[121] puche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—awn, dillatun, machitun, kellutun (see below)—bind together

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

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000 ([illegible]) connected with their own "society." The ritual
793 priest (ñillatufe) performs on behalf of the congregation during
787 the large, public ñillatun, usually in the dual role of chief of a
768 reservation community and head of the dominant lineage
613 thereon, but a smaller family group may also hold a *ñillatun*
622 (which I regard as a [illegible] practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called *ñillatufe*.
796 Implicit in these variations in ritual speciality and the nature of
182 the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently
769 willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the *dramatis personae* of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless visualize a rather well-defined set of piacular, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

II

121 The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structures and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a fundamental relation between the structure of symbolic values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

121 My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality
114 has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position expressed, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> *Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political institutions as well as those based on*

(*lonko*) and wealthy men (*ülmen*) were important persons in 476
the regulation of communal labor in prereservation and early 622
reservation times, leaders who could call their people together to 178
participate in any and all cooperative ventures. It is sufficiently 464
clear from these accounts that *ülmen* and persons designated
as *lonko* or *cacique* (chief) by the Spaniards and Chileans—
those responsible for labor organization—were elders of the
residential kingroup, even though the actual composition of the
group is by no means clear. As the reservation system took hold, 476
and as localized lineages became of great social significance, the 622
lineage head or, if there were several lineages in residence on a 613
single reservation, the head of the dominant lineage played a 178
leading role in the organization of labor. This elder was (and 464
still is) both *lonko* (lineage head) and chief (political leader of
unrelated lineages), a lineal descendant of the original chief in
whose name the reservation community is registered with the
Chilean government.

Within the last generation the role of the chief in labor organization has changed significantly, reflecting a general shift in Mapuche economic orientation. The chief now serves as symbolic work leader in the relatively few cases in which reservation-wide labor groups continue to perform. The chief's symbolic status is contingent upon his position as head of the dominant lineage (but in this respect is an essentially political role) and his role as ritual leader of the reservation community. Today, the chief is less a labor organizer than a symbol of organized labor.

Although large organized labor groups form with less frequency 178
than they seem to have done a generation ago, when 464
they do form they are of great importance in reaffirming solidary 476
economic relationships among the membership. In the light of
new economic orientations, in which the notions of private
enterprise, ownership, and family-based labor are stressed, it is
not implausible to view the occasional large-scale work parties as
even more important than formerly for the revalidation of moral
responsibility and ethnic identity among the Mapuche. Insofar [622]
as this is true, the chief's symbolic leadership in labor organization, [182]
representing as it does the will of the reservation community,
may likewise be viewed as a significant integrative force.

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476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the
reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually,
622 consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
476 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the
464 changes which have taken place over the past few generations,
and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less
importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant
conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary
synchronic analysis.

•613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from
four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially
if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly,
but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called
caciquillo (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic
178 unit on all reservations, and its members are tied
individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean
farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of
a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed
from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a
substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to
distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean
society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public ceremonies.
433 There are many other aspects of traditional economic
morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or
ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like
to consider some of the most common productive arrangements
existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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while the
476 Mapuche enter into half-share agreements among themselves,
427 the most profitable and the most important aspect seems to be
648 that involving Mapuche with Chileans. This is felt to pose some threat to Mapuche land rights, but the immediate advantages are generally believed to outweigh this possible and certainly long-range danger.

476 Mingaco is the cooperative labor venture already alluded to in
464 discussing community-wide work parties and is organized for certain planting and harvesting operations, clearing new land,
602 building houses, canal digging, and a few other large-scale
[613] projects. Mingaco is organized around a core of males of the dominant patrilineage of a reservation and headed by a lineage elder who is chief. People from other reservations are sometimes invited to participate. It is a festive form of labor, in the course of which the organizer provides better than ordinary food and drink for the participants. In all cases, the majority of participants comprises close relatives of the host group along with some longtime residents of what I have called the ritual congregation—those persons who regularly assist in the great fertility rite, ngillatun. With respect to this feature alone we may view the multiple roles of the chief as political, economic, ritual, and, as far as the host group is concerned, lineage functionary.

Mingaco, however, is a word used by the Mapuche to describe cooperative labor regardless of the size of the participating group, and in most instances mingaco are conducted by less than the total population of a reservation. As we shall see, it is usually members of segments of the localized lineage that engage in this sort of labor. It is sometimes only an academic question whether or not this represents mingaco or vuelta mano, since it often involves but few households, the members of which seem to feel strong obligation to reciprocate labor and feasts.

The Concept of Ownership

423 Mapuche recognize patrilineal inheritance of usufructuary
[428] rights to reservation land, although these may be contested on
[648] occasion. At the time of registration, title to reservation land was vested in the chief, ideally the elder of the largest lineage in residence and, wherever possible, the Chilean government attempted to apportion the land among the reservation com-

167 423 423 629 they are not able to exercise them, or make no legal attempt to do so. This situation exists because the residential lineage opposes their claims for purely economic reasons, and because of moral considerations which place émigrés outside Mapuche society—from the Mapuche point of view.

167 423 229 In a sense, these émigrés are considered to have deceased when their defection from traditional life appears permanent. They have abandoned ancestral land, they have forsaken ancestral spirits. What will indeed become of them? How should one regard their often mixed (biologically) offspring? These thoughts appear to be of little importance to most of those who have departed from traditional reservation life, but they are among the doctrinal questions raised by the priests (ngillatufe) at the ngillatun ceremonies and are among those subjects especially harangued during funeral rites. [789] For the ultimate threat posed by the exodus of young men is to their forebears' spirits, which depend on them for celestial tranquility, the result of sustained and proper propitiation—and this threat devolves upon those who have not abandoned reservation life. Thus, the strong feeling about ownership by the actual residents who are lineal descendants of the original reservation chief or who trace descent to the founder of a subordinate lineage given asylum during the postwar decades by the original chief works against and at the same time is supported by the claims of émigrés. This conflict is a real but as yet not a pressing problem facing the reservation Mapuche.

178 423 Nor is the problem of division as immediate and weighty as it once seemed to be. According to government figures, there are almost as many legally constituted reservations today as there were a generation or so ago. The trend toward petitions for division of land into severalties has effectively ceased. Again, this is partly because of a growing economic and political awareness, partly a result of a reinvigorated or reoriented Mapuche morality.

● 613 Unilineal and Residential Kinship Groups

592 611 591 Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. They result in the most closely related males living together and working harmoniously

in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may 613
be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the 182
reservation community. In the many books written about the [114]
Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or 114
theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and 613
residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned [627]
with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the local group in vengeance by witchcraft) and the payment of blood
money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of 613
the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several 591
reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of 618
economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreation activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all allied members ascribed to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured 613
through males, membership in the patrilineage being deter- 611
mined by birth.

613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. The [618] two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 182 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 178 177 621 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been stron-

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tered along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence 613
to show that paternally related males cohered over long enough 178
periods of time to have formed sizeable residential groups 177
during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and 621
Chileans. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder, or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is some possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is presently necessary to think of 613
Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as segmented at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are segmented at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

613 consideration is the lineage group, comprising all living members of the maximal lineage regardless of residence (i.e. including out-married women and males who have moved off the reservation).

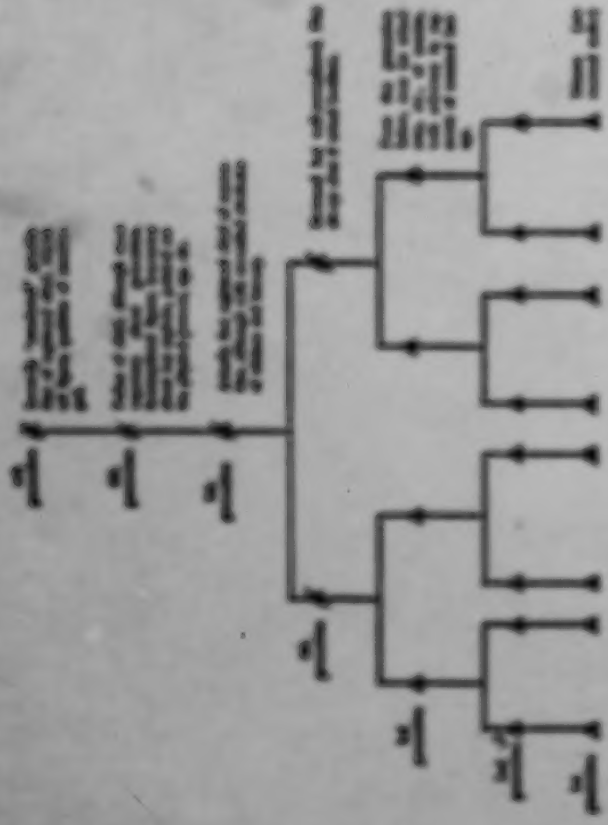
Diagram I will serve as a model of a maximal patrilineage. It depicts three living generations, excluding children who would comprise a fourth. It is not meant to portray ethnographic reality. It is a diagram of a two-branch maximal lineage, an oversimplification which I shall discuss later. Still, for the purposes of generational continuity and tracing descent to the category of kin characterized as "ancestor-god," this model is applicable to any localized segment of a maximal lineage on any Mapuche reservation.

613 602 It is immediately apparent that strong unilineal emphasis has been achieved by the omission of collateral kinsmen in the fifth and ascending generations, only the most socially significant ancestors being remembered. The brothers in the fourth generation are, in many cases, half brothers and in some instances it is clear that they are only cousins. Therefore, a degree of genealogical manipulation has occurred somewhere along the line. This is not too clearly seen in the model. In an ethnographically accurate diagram of a maximal lineage—that is, one in which generations one through four include all male residents of the reservation—there would be several rather than merely two branches. In this case, there would be a larger number of fourth generation males whose relationship to each other would not be too clear to living members. The tendency would be to label these males "brothers," the Mapuche term peñi classifying real brothers and cousins together. Where this occurs, genealogical manipulation, always for the purpose of forming closer kinship alignments, has affected the fourth or fifth generations, and the resultant condition has been passed down the line to the living members, most of whom accept it as truth.

591 *Rules of Residence.* The Mapuche are traditionally patrilocal, but some flexibility is observable in this rule. It is possible that this flexibility is the result of features inherent in the reservation system. In certain cases, this seems obvious. What follows are the rules and the variations which exist today among the reservation Mapuche.

DIAGRAM 1. Model of Maximal Lineage

601
613



composed of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this 59
is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, if the reservation
community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may 591
be toward uxorilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater
structural significance than the four variations within the
patrilocal pattern; and uxorilocal residence seems to depend
almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation
system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an [178]
infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringe- [829]
ment of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine
whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted on any reservation.
It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his
own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to 591
her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able 736
to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her 602
small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the [613]
one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a
member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to
his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that 587
such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which 591
brideprice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If
they remarried, they resettled or, more commonly, remained on
their husbands' reservation and established a new household
with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of
widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does [583]
not constitute remarriage, since no additional brideprice is paid
for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well 562
as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, 591
at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to 423
women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women
born after registration). While these rights cannot always be [648]
validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned
Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on
their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given
de facto use rights to plots of land. These women are usually

562 591 423 spinsters, unmarried women over the age of thirty or so, who may have children, but for whom no brideprice has been received. These women may eventually marry and remain on their natal reservation, residing uxorilocally with their husbands. Their ability to do so always depends on the status of their closest male relative on the reservation, the person who acts as their sponsor and protector in this matter.

• 613 621 *The Composition of the Residential Kingroup.* In essence, the residential kingroup is formed around a core of patrilineally related males and includes their spouses and children, as well as unmarried, widowed, or divorced females of the patrilineage. Most Mapuche reservations are composed of more than one such group. Since this has important implications for certain Mapuche rituals, as well as for interreservational economic, political, and kinship structures, I will make a brief historical digression for the purpose of indicating how this situation became generalized throughout Mapucheland. It is helpful in understanding the structure of dominant and subordinate lineages on the reservation-community level of analysis.

621 613 178 Subordinate lineages are those which attached themselves to the original chief of the reservation, the head of the dominant group in the area at the time of registration. It is inappropriate to speak of lineages—if we have in mind localized, corporate descent groups—during the era of warfare, or at the time of the inauguration of the reservation system, when peace was newly established. Corporate lineages formed only after a generation or so of reservation life, and the localization of the membership within small political and economic boundaries. At the time of registration, much of the influence of the head of the dominant kingroup was based on politico-military and economic authority. He held sway over a larger-than-kinship aggregate which made up a fighting force strong enough to defend its life and resources in time of attack by Chilean troops. The power implied in this relationship waned with the establishment of peaceful conditions and the fruition of reservation communities. What has since become important in these communities is the ability of individuals to trace descent back to the original founder, the chief, or to some other member of the community registered under his leadership.

Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a 613
greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining dominant 621
in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of 178
lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of
reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact
that they controlled land at the time of registration and because
they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this
claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate [578]
lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under
pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights
of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose
about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate [601]
lineages are sometimes, in anger, called *winka* (outsider), there [578]
by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of
the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Sublineation

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Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

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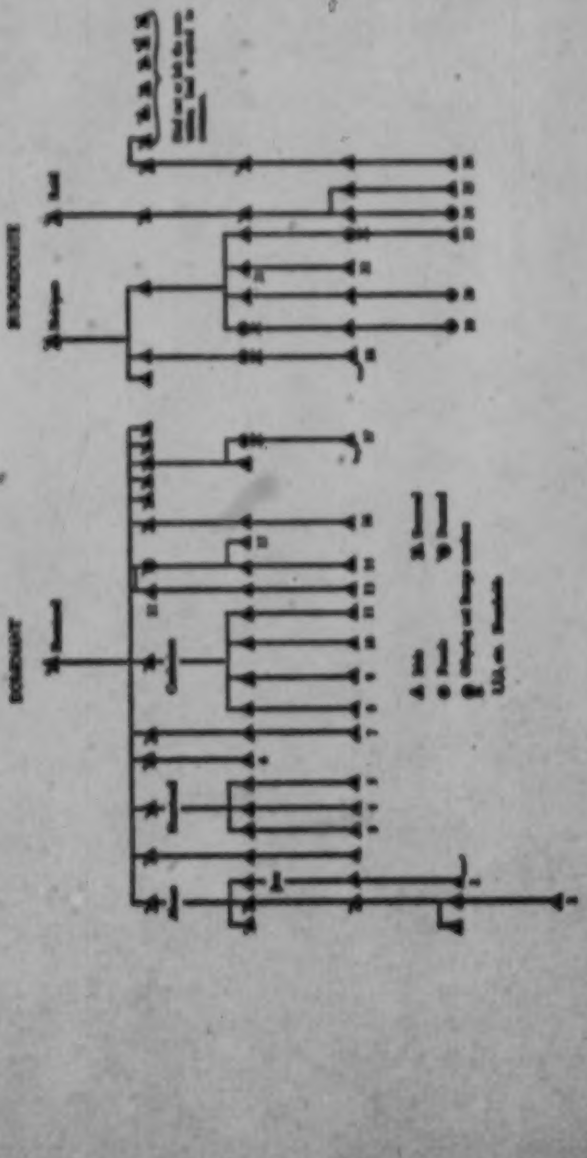
DIAGRAM II. Dominant and Subordinate Lineages


DOMINANT
SUBORDINATE

apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements 613
of the model are here given over to an approximation of
actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most
closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive,
and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local
population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic 613
cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved 621
than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so 178
organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in
the process of which authority has become more diffuse in
matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of (602)
authority running between members in relationships such as
uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical
sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the
deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from
the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations 613
that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the 621
residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or
political motives of the individuals in residence, we see that
there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the
membership into segments of most closely related males. It is 578
mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really 613
bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance 621
in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent
occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which
the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected
parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, if one [178]
wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world, this solution
is no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one 613
brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to 621
the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give 578
the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today. 425
or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture
in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this 613
occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his 621
Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes 425

613 621 425 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 621 627 578 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 182 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consideration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-

613 182 proximate ethnographic reality reflects a different set of interests than the model diagram which nicely converges on the ancestor-god. Therefore, segments of the maximal lineage may be said to function differently depending on whether involvement of the membership is economic, political, or ritual in nature—to take three of the most interesting and important spheres of social action.

The Chain of Intrafamilial Relationships

59 178 As already indicated, the family, defined as a land-using household group, whether in the extended or elementary phase of development, has emerged as the basic economic (agricultural) unit in Mapuche society. As the lineage-based residential group has increased in size of membership, so has it diminished in importance as a unit in day-to-day cooperative enterprise. It is the household or small group of closely related households which carries out the basic economic activities.

59 The family may be viewed from several angles, depending on which kinds of relationships are to be examined. It may be discussed as a structural unit comparable to other such units in the society. It may also be conceived of as a special relationship in time, which exists until its members establish new sets of relationships which affect both the composition and the organization of the family. The nature of any family changes in the course of years and generations, most obviously with respect to births, marriages, deaths, and the realignments these imply.

It is with a highly selective aspect of the family constellation that I am now concerned, that is, with the family as a link in a chain of social relationships over time. Of greatest importance [613] to this study is the family as a microcosm of the lineage, as a structure of continuity in Mapuche society. There are certain key relationships which are family-based, and which serve to maintain social continuity. These are the relationships between father and son, between brothers, and, especially, the relationship between grandfather and grandchild.

593 613 428 As in other patrilineal systems, it generally holds that the intrafamilial relationship of most immediate structural significance is that between father and son. In Mapuche society, inheritance, at least in theory, is equal among a man's legitimate sons.

000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
-613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[178] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they
[592] seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
622 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
178 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
421 economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry
(connected with his control over land), and conducted game
activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the
repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in
granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have
tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the
lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family
groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed
a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have
to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before
a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among
heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from
[428] infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family.
There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition,
however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers
vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the
chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The
chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these
lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance
system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of
lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe
seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the
smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 771 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality, however, we must pass from the narrow confines of the single household, and from the rather clear-cut authoritarian relationship between father and son, to the larger social aggregate. Whatever Mapuche religion might have been in the past, today it is not characteristically a household religion. It has its important familial aspect, but the full significance of Mapuche religious morality is seen only with respect to the larger congregation which, for any individual, is lineage based. One's spiritual connection to this larger group is mediated by one's father and grandfather, and so on back to and beyond the authentic founder of the maximal lineage. The precise intermediate links of one person are of relatively little importance to members of collateral sublineages. The spiritual bond linking the entire lineage group into a ritual entity is, for all members, directly with a ritually important ancestor. So, collateral lines converge. But one's most intimate ties with the ritual group are figured through a direct succession of males, a succession which cannot be the same for all members of the lineage.

769 613 A man does not consider his father or even his grandfather to be a god. He stands in awe of his father's spirit and fears that if he does not propitiate it properly, some evil may befall him. His grandfather's spirit is even more venerated and awesome. But ancestral deification is the product of generations of forgetfulness and fabrication. It takes time for the ancestral myth to mature. In terms of lineage structure, one ancestral spirit replaces that of another still more removed ancestor, or the qualities of both tend to fuse. The structure telescopes at [174] approximately the sixth or seventh generations, but stories about the founding ancestor may actually describe events, such as war exploits and contacts with certain historically identifiable Spanish and other European groups, that took place in the early nineteenth or late eighteenth centuries.

867 603 593 [865] In the household, practical instruction is received from one's father and mother. But, strikingly, children receive little instruction in traditional moral lore from their parents. This knowledge is acquired informally, for the most part, from the grandfather or his surrogate (e.g. any *laku*). The grandchild and his father are both exposed to this kind of instruction simultaneously, the father's prior knowledge being reshaped continually as his child

869 603 593 home. For the practical purpose of passing traditional knowledge from one adult generation to another, this situation provides instruction from father to son, occurring, however, when a third generation is introduced to traditional morality. As the third generation matures, the instruction is reinforced at the time the fourth generation is introduced to the traditional values through stories and myths. And so on.

869 862 603 613 The grandfather does not usually recount his own life experiences as object lessons in good living to the same extent that he repeats what he himself learned from his father and grandfather. It is likely that many of the fundamental do's and don't's of eighteenth-century vintage are still passed along in this way. This seems a universal phenomenon among contemporary [769] Mapuche. It is intimately related to the propitiation of ancestral spirits, to the notion that a man begets offspring for his [illegible] grandfather. This continuity is expressed in the reciprocal use of the *laku* term between alternate generations, in the *lakutun* (naming rite) in which grandfather bestows a name on grandson, and in the ritual association of the words *kume laku pu am*, which may be translated as "the beneficent spirits of my grandfathers." It is an outlook or world view which serves to compress time within the limits of the lineage framework and thus connect more closely the living with the dead. It is a notion which sets no [illegible] down to history through the omission of pinpointing in time historic events, or even lumping together or presenting out of sequence the salient events of Mapucheland. Because of this a-historical view (in this instance) of the universe, there is the impression of timelessness and infinite sameness, an intellectual gradient which facilitates the compression of genealogies and their manipulation toward even more solidary structures.

867 Institutionalized relationships within the immediate family confines, the household or group of most closely related households, create and reinforce notions of moral obligation. The household is the meeting ground for the practical training of the young and for their instruction in religious morality. But the sanctions for this instruction come from without the confines of [603] the household. They are mediated by the grandfather-figure and the host of *kume laku pu am*, and are truly cosmic in origin. At

581 relationship. These bonds are symbolically expressed and reval-
585 idated during the several phases of the protracted marriage
ritual.

592 Courtship and marriage are both rather rigidly circumscribed
by considerations of morality. Patrilineal exogamy is a Mapuche
rule which is not capable of being broken, if exogamy is
considered at the level of marriage rather than with reference to
834 pre- or extramarital affairs. Even casual affairs take place with
831 almost full observance of the exogamic rule. Breaches occasion-
684 ally occur. These, however, are usually due to ignorance or
682 drunken disorder, and are quickly brought to an end by
community action, which imposes ostracism or banishment in
cases where continued infraction is indicated. Intralineage
836 sexual affairs almost never occur, but there is a danger of casual
relationships taking place between a man and the marriage-
linked lineage into which his lineage sister has married. Usually,
this is due to ignorance on the part of the offenders, who in most
cases are adolescents unaware of the special bonds which place
835 them in a proscribed category. Any sexual connection between a
613 man and a woman from the lineage into which his father's sister,
father's brother's daughter, or own sister has married is, by
definition of the matrilateral rule, considered incest. Marriage
could not take place under these conditions. Inadvertent or,
in the rare instances of occurrence, defiant sexual affairs between
persons so related are described by the Mapuche as "copulating
like dogs."

613 While lineage exogamy is essentially one hundred percent
582 complete—considering marriage only, it is unquestionably com-
plete—it is, nevertheless, the negative, proscriptive aspect of the
marriage rule, with reference to lineages linked through fathers'
sisters (real or classificatory), which underscores the strength
of the matrilateral preference. In effect, a man marries matri-
laterally or (rarely) entirely outside the traditional framework
of paired wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. Although prefer-
ential rather than prescriptive, the Mapuche marriage system is
highly preferential, the flow of women or the acquisition of
wives being almost rigidly unilateral. There is not a hint of
simple exchange between intermarrying lineages, which would

constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun*: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[8]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583 564 602 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 571

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[8] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term weltalum is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, weltalum signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

554 and the one which must pay for them.[3] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
•613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan*: to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
571 those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
[601] These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[4] The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

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[578] [3] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to
[754] associate *ñillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ülmen*).

[4] In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *fil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the 584 groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of 213 the bride's.

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal ex- 583 change of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to 114 gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 100) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious 583 informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that 129 Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, [115] and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might occur among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place.

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result 583 that the economic value of the most important moveable items [437] of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use.

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is 583 the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both 423 parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or

[illegible] is contracted completely outside the traditional context. In
423 neither case does traditionally approved marriage take place.

613 While the transfer of rights over land is the most important
[illegible] economic aspect of the imbalance of brideprice payment, it is
583 not, as already indicated, an isolated expression of the social
571 inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage. The bride's lineage is attentive to her well-being while she is in residence on her husband's reservation. It retains residual rights over her, indicating that her presentation to the groom's family constitutes a largess which can never be repaid in full, that this places the wife-receiving group in continual obligation to the wife-givers, and that this obligation endures even beyond the lifetime of the woman and involves the care of her corpse and her spirit by the receiving group. There is no mechanism in Mapuche society to release wife-receivers from this eternal obligation. Indeed, as I shall point out later, *if it is felt* that they have been remiss in caring for the spiritual needs of a deceased woman this feeling might be expressed by the wife-givers saying that they suspect foul play (witchcraft) on the part of the receiving group.

585 During the marriage ceremony, which takes place on the
431 bride's reservation, there are two instances in which the bride's
602 family receive animals from the groom and his family. The
571 special acts involved in this presentation indicate or symbolize the relative status of the two groups. At the outset, the groom makes a dramatic entrance on horseback with a couple of his lineage agnates. They lead a special horse, ox, or several sheep (depending on the wealth and local prestige of the families concerned) which are due for presentation to the parents of the bride. They slaughter the animal(s) and make an obligatory presentation of most of it to the father of the bride, one of several such subservient acts. This offering is then prepared and cooked by the bride's family and distributed by them as hosts to the most important guests, who receive the large and choice portions. After this is done, the father of the bride selects one or more of the brideprice animals to be slaughtered for the general ceremonial feasting, during which all those assembled gorge themselves. These animals likewise are then killed and cut up by the groom (and his family) and handed back to the family of the bride for preparation and distribution.

Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 648 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total scheme. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptations, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, 621 648 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and intrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

mode of expression. All accounts (written and oral) reveal that 769
it is not the chief as political leader of a multilineal reservation 622
group who is referred to, but the head of a single lineage 613
therein, a *lonko* who is obligated to watch over his lineal descendants. It is clear that the tie between the living and the dead is directly along lineage lines rather than along heterogeneous reservational (political) lines. This is however, only one aspect.

Another aspect of the relationship to the dead concerns the 794
generalized ancestors, oldtime chiefs of former political impor- 769
tance. This is a more recent concept, that of the ritual 796
congregation and the mythology which sanctions its existence 613
through the weight of moral approval. On the first day of the [622]
ñillatun ceremony, for example, when the heads of the participant lineages assemble in private prayer, each lineage head communes with the *lonko* ancestral to his own line—not as former political leader of the reservation, but as a strictly lineage functionary. On successive days of the *ñillatun* ceremony important *lonko* are again revered in prayer, but in this instance they are prayed to in their role of great politico-military leader of bygone, glorious days—immortalized in the ritual dance called *lonkoparun*. On successive ritual occasions, the most important *lonko* are defined by the host group and, therefore, each participating dominant lineage of the ritual congregation has a turn in which its founder is supplicated both in direct ancestral line with the gods and as political chief of several lineages. As each lineage assumes its duties as host, the purely unilineal status of *lonko* is fused with his political status, his generalized ritual status. But on all occasions, the participant lineages hail their respective *lonko* primarily as kinship elders of their maximal group. Here we see the direct tie-in between the living and their ancestors. To the extent that these august ancestors [622]
are generalized political figures of bygone days, there is also an affinity expressed between them and the entire (heterogeneous) ritual congregation. They are the chiefs who have the welfare of mankind at heart and who walk the earth with the sons of the gods.

I take this generalization to be a latter-day development 794
conditioned by peaceful relationships under the impress of the 178

769 mythical ancestral deities, which appears to have considerable
776 analytic significance. An example will serve to indicate some-
794 thing of this. The god of thunder, usually called *pillan*,
184 sometimes *tralkalfucha*, is supplicated in and near the Andes as
an ancestral deity by a number of congregations. There he takes on the characteristics of a regional deity. The god of thunder, under the same or other names, is known but neither similarly conceived nor propitiated by the coastal populations. The god of the south wind is everywhere important along the coast, is taken as a mythical ancestor by some of the central coastal groups but, although known as a deity by the Andean congregations, does not receive pan-Mapuche veneration. In the mountains, one learns that the god of the south wind is a specifically coastal god. There are even finer distinctions between regional affiliations to minor and mythical ancestral deities, with noticeable overlapping among geographically proximate units of the population.

769 Part of this local overlapping, which sometimes gives the
776 impression of confusion, is, I believe, a result of a gradation
between authentic and mythical ancestral spirits, something
184 which possibly has been expressed in innumerable shiftings of
loyalty during the long-recorded Mapuche history. The relative importance of any deity or set of gods changes over time. The most obvious and most easily traced changes take place with respect to the lesser gods. Full deification, for example, and later regional generalization, comes about as a result of first, genealogical manipulation and second, inadequate (oral) recording of relationships. I will return to this matter in a later chapter. Here, though, I might add that a congregation propitiates these half-forgotten ancestors outside the regular framework of lineal descent, and that this is not fully recognized by the Mapuche. It is usually said that such-and-such an ancestor-god lived in the area long ago, in the time of the Spanish wars, when Mapuche lived to be several hundred years of age. An attempt is made to place the mundane existence of these ancestor-gods at a time of the re-creation myth (see p. 75).

769 The process leading to ancestral deification emerges when
dealing with the upper generations of lineage organization, and
.613 only then. Apart from this, this is no confusion in establishing

continuity between the living and the dead, their authentic 769
ancestors. This is true even though, as mentioned before, there 613
is ample evidence that genealogical manipulation is an ongoing process and that, in general, the number of generations between supposedly historical events and the present have been compressed to serve the needs of local groups. Authentic ancestors are always mentioned by name or by designations such as grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on, and continuity of generations, even though of questionable genealogical accuracy, is always expressed in the comparatively exact idiom of
kinship. This is taken as fact by the Mapuche. In contrast, [776]
ñenechen and, to a certain extent, the minor deities are
figuratively classed as "father," a flexibility which makes for [794]
much greater inclusiveness with respect to the composition of any congregational unit, in contrast to specific unilineal kingroups.

As a group, authentic ancestors are supplicated as *kuifiche* or 769
kuifipellu. It is clear from context that these words connote "our 776
direct lineal ancestors." These spirits are propitiated in the great 794
ñillatun rite, mainly as intercessors before *ñenechen* and before 184
whatever other minor deities are of importance for the local congregation on any specific ritual occasion; but they are not the center of attention. In the *ñillatun* ceremony, it is the generalized ancestors, the local regional gods, and the creator, *ñenechen*, which command the people's attention. Authentic ancestors serve smaller groups of greater homogeneity and are most intimately involved in funeral ceremonies and in the continual tug of war between shaman and sorcerer. This seems to indicate that although all ritual action rests on the firm belief in the connection between the living and their own ancestors, the Mapuche recognize that regional congregational ceremonies and funerals are of a different order; that while the same persons, or segments of the regularly participating group, tend to interact on all ritual occasions, the organization is differently conceived for *ñillatun* and for *awn*. An examination of the social action involved in these ceremonies, in relation to their symbolic correlates, takes us to the very heart of the Mapuche system of religious morality. But that is a task for subsequent chapters.

Hawks of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups. 000

Hawks
of the sun are tethered to specific unilineal kingroups.
769 When the bonds which hold them are loosed or broken because
775 of some infraction of the moral code—caused by the negligence
776 of their heirs—they are in danger of being ensnared by wily
sorcerers and forced to perform evil deeds in the night. Once in
754 the clutches of a sorcerer the spirit is completely and eternally
[613] helpless. There is no way back for the spirit, no way in which its
[784] living relatives are able to free it from serving evil or from doing
harm to them. However, the living are still able to ward off the general forces of evil, of which this spirit has recently become a part. They may resort to the services of one or another ritual specialist, depending on how the threat of evil is conceived. In effect, then, the living are able to propitiate the dead to protect themselves against the dead and against the other forces of evil—all spirits who have fallen under the influence of *kalku* and the freewheeling powers of malignancy. This is a reassuring conceptualization of the powers of good magic over black. But once any particular spirit has fallen and has become converted to a ghost, it remains evil and continues to inflict harm on anyone, usually at the behest of a *kalku*, sometimes at its own discretion, always to obtain its victim's blood. The contaminated spirit is no longer identifiable as a specific ancestor. It is invisible, but it may be seen on occasion by humans in one of serveral stereotyped forms that it may assume. Once contaminated, it becomes a force of generalized evil.

769 And so, the living have to be careful to propitiate the dead in
order that at least an effective number of their own ancestors
776 remain watchful over them. These are, *ipso facto*, ancestral
spirits of greatest social significance and include a line of chiefs and former warriors. They are the long-dead authentic ancestors who, it appears, eventually become mythical, generalized deities. The reciprocal obligations which constitute the backbone of Mapuche morality bind the living and the dead through eternity, provided they are not broken by the extinction of the lineage or the ritual congregation.

613 Patrilineages are the primary units involved in the definition
769 of rights and obligations surrounding marriage, bridewealth, and
the celebration of all life crises. The sanctions for these relationships are always supernatural and depend on direct linkage to the ancestral spirits; they are clearly among the most

important sets of rights and duties operative in Mapuche 613
society. And these relationships are most dramatic with respect 769
to death rites and their correlative ceremonies of birth and
naming. In the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) the child is [553]
symbolically identified with one of his ancestors in the paternal [585]
line. Upon marriage, there comes about a significant shifting of
ancestral loyalties and obligations, or an extension of these. This
is a reorganization which remains subliminal in the marriage
ceremony itself, and becomes fully expressed only in subsequent
congregational attitudes and activities associated with birth,
death, and the supernatural world, which involves paired sets of
matrimonial groups. In a very real sense, the Mapuche drama of
life begins with the release of an ancestral spirit.

Supernatural Beliefs Defined 776

Not appearing on the surface, and not readily acknowledged by the Mapuche to outsiders, is a prevailing concern with a host of lesser supernatural beings and malignant forces. There is an undercurrent of supernatural beliefs which affects even the most acculturated of the reservation Mapuche, and which comes to the surface mainly in time of stress, when omens are interpreted and supernatural explanations resorted to.

The Mapuche world is viewed as being inhabited by many 775
malevolent spirits. Outside Mapucheland, the exact location 776
sometimes conceived as an island (*nomelafken*) far to the west
and sometimes as a place in the sky (*wenumapu*), are found the
vast majority of benevolent ancestral spirits. These spirits—
hawks of the sun—on occasion descend to earth and return to
Mapucheland, either to remind their kinsmen of certain neglected obligations or to assist them in various ways. Benevolent
ancestral spirits may be characterized as pneumatic, and may be
otiose, but they are capable of becoming active in that sphere of
the supernatural which connects man and god. This is in
contrast to animistic spirits, which are embodiments of evil in
the universe. All spirits, however, good, bad, or indifferent, are
numinous.

Personal misfortune sharpens one's awareness of the existence 777
of evil and reinforces supernatural beliefs. General misfortune 782
involving flood, crop failure, large-scale death of animals, and

777 the like is not attributed to any specific force of evil, but rather
782 to a pervading malevolence and a feeling that *ñenechen* has
been insufficiently or imperfectly propitiated. There is a partial
acceptance of hardship and an attempt to supplicate *ñenechen*
in public ceremonial, in order to control the machinations of the
[771] collective *wekufe*, generalized evil. Failure of ceremonial appeal
may result in some diminution of faith in the efficacy of the
[793] priest (*ñillatufe*) who conducts the ritual, but it does not seem
to lessen belief in the general body of religious lore and ritual
[754] action. If anything, it seems to heighten concern with sorcery
and the forces of evil that plague humanity. The failure of
[789] public ritual in some cases encourages persons to seek additional
individual protection through shamanistic assistance.

776 *Wekufe* is the generic term for all malevolent spirits and
775 forces in the world. As a descriptive device, since the Mapuche
do not order as much as they lump these forces of evil, they may
be categorized as animistic and placed into three groups:
animals, natural phenomena, and ghosts. Any evil spirit has the
power, or is able through the manipulation of a *kalku*, to assume
the form of a being representative of any of the three groups,
and to make itself visible and invisible at will. These spirits or
forces are abroad mostly at night, although they may be active in
754 the daytime as well. They are all at some time or other under the
775 control of a sorcerer, but if mistreated they have enough power
of their own to operate freely against her, should she be
776 off-guard. They may even be able to kill her. Although there is a
general feeling that witches never die, there is the contradictory
notion that they may be killed through the agency of the forces
[756] they have failed to control. Shamans may thwart the designs of
witches, but they are seldom felt to have enough power to kill
them, that is, make a witch's familiar spirits consume her. After
683 all the bits of data are sifted, Mapuche logic forces the
[811] conclusion that the only way a *kalku* may die, without being
killed by a rebellious spirit, is to be executed by a human with
[613] the consent of a local descent group. But even with regard to
this matter there is not complete agreement, some Mapuche
feeling that only the corporeal part of the witch is destroyed,
while the evil soul remains to cause grief elsewhere. Formerly, as
[778] described in the literature and in oral accounts, witches were

The syringe and the aspirin
767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold
of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be per-
formed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital resi-
591 dence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen.* The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the
[178] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These 764
choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the 57
recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony 602
warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of [262]
a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife- 764
giving group at some future date, they would be properly 57
received and fed well. But they would not be given better 602
treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity 554
of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. 764
They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits 537
and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the 537
genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his 764
patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male mem- 613
bers on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at 537
any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the 764
end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connec- 613
tions, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through 829

537 764 613 829 [769] Through *weupin* one's linkage with important ancestors is brought to the attention of those very ancestors and to the funeral assembly. To many of the living, the genealogy of the deceased is disclosed or made explicit for the first time. It is obvious that genealogies are weeded of lesser ancestors, clearly seen in the vertical emphasis on generations once or twice removed from the oldest living generation. Only the most important, the direct-line ancestors are mentioned. The *weupin* is clearly an occasion on which genealogical manipulation takes place, perhaps inadvertently. Even women are included in the reconstruction to augment the status of the deceased by relating him to his matrilateral group of cognates as an affinal member whose offspring share the blood of the maternal group. Sometimes, when an in-married male has died, or one of his children, a connection of blood is made through the woman to the resident lineage, that into which she was born. There is ample room here for the shifting and manipulating of genealogies, the resultant modifications in which are noticeable in collecting life-histories of the inhabitants of any reservation. I suggest that on occasion of *awn* there is a responsive ambient for this sort of maneuver.

764 When *weupin* are terminated, the time has arrived to transport the coffin on its bier to the graveyard, initiating the third and final phase of the funeral service. This may be done by pallbearers who go on foot to the burial ground, or by oxcart, which is the usual means of transportation if the cemetery is not close by and if roads are available. The burial place, *eltun* (cemetery) or *minchemapu* (grave—infrequently used), has already been prepared by relatives of the deceased. Closeness of relationship is generally the criterion for selection of pallbearers and grave diggers, thus the obligation of the living for the dead begins early in acts of a practical sort. The general responsibility of the total assemblage precipitates out on the shoulders of the most responsible few.

764 273 The procession to the burial ground is usually disorderly, owing to the drunken condition of the mourners who, indeed, are usually cautioned not to set down or drop the coffin. Only a handful of the closest relatives accompanies the coffin to the graveyard, for by this time many of the participants are already in a stupor or are sleeping off the effects of wine and *chicha*.

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I have stressed the priestly function of ñillatufe, the sacrificial
796 offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature
793 of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation
756 of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *ñillatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *ñillatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *ñillatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *ñillatun*.

114 *The Shaman and the Priest.* Titiev has pointed out that
793 early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as
793 the role played by a machi" in the *ñillatun* organization (1951:
756 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis
796 about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand
and that of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *ñillatun*, or the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

796 There is always a head man at a *ñillatun* ceremony. Ideally,
622 the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the
head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of
[613] the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *ñillatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

796 If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the
622 *ñillatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should
793 be *ñillatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and
who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

From the foregoing discussion, it is apparent that one may 796
consider three aspects in this configuration: (1) reservation- 794
bound lineages within a set of ritually related lineages, (2) 628
reservation communities within a set of ritually related communities, and (3) membership which is both conjunctive (e.g. A-B-C) and overlapping (e.g. A-B-C plus Ds, Es, and Fs as guests; F-F_1-F_2 plus A-B-C, Gs, Hs, and possibly Ds and Es as guests). There is a responsible conjoining, therefore, and a permissive overlapping. In Durkheim's terminology, the first structure emphasizes, as I have described it, obligation, although the element of desirability is fully present. The second set of relationships emphasizes desirability, although, as in the example of the safety mechanism, there is a note of obligation.

A further word about the implications of the model diagram. The characterization of Gs and Hs as peripheral groups is intended to show that the limits of the ritual congregation is a zone of mixed allegiance, involving situational desirability. In short, Gs and Hs may choose to assist at a *ñillatun* held on reservation C. There is no obligation involved. If, then, Gs and Hs belong to distinct ritual spheres (not depicted in the diagram), their attendance at a celebration in either the A-B-C or the F-F_1-F_2 cycle is purely optional. They would tend to assist in *ñillatun* held by Fs more often than those of the A-B-C unit. Their attendance at celebrations of the D and E units would not be regul[illegible] would be conditioned by the presence or absence of celebrations in their own or nearby core units. Furthermore, the peripheral units tend to segment on occasions of pure option. Specifically, G might attend a *ñillatun* held by C, whereas G_1 and G_2 might not. In addition, G_1 might assist at a celebration held by a western reservation at the same time that G_2 is guest at a *ñillatun* given by H set or by a group peripheral to the Hs. Where obligatory participation is absent, desirability and flexibility are major considerations in understanding the structure of the ritual community.

Ritual and Marital Links. For convenience of exposition, 621
each of the reservations represented by hachures is bisected into 613
two unequal parts, the larger taken to indicate the dominant 794
lineage and the smaller a subordinate lineage. This departs from empirical evidence insofar as a number of reservations have

621 613 794 [128]

more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly) consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 613 178 [794]

It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during the reservation period.

621 613 582 178 177 [166]

After the inauguration of the reservation system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected 582
from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with 178
respect to total Mapuche society. 177

The most significant way in which to consider marriage 166
practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect 582
to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of 621
most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact 613
that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that 582
of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral [183]
cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved.
What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman [601]
who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which
a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written 582
elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving 613
and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the relationship of such groups within the general framework of congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together 613
a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being sys- 602
temic limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from 593
an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most
important. 794

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying 621
lineages (1–54) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) 613
indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega- 582

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

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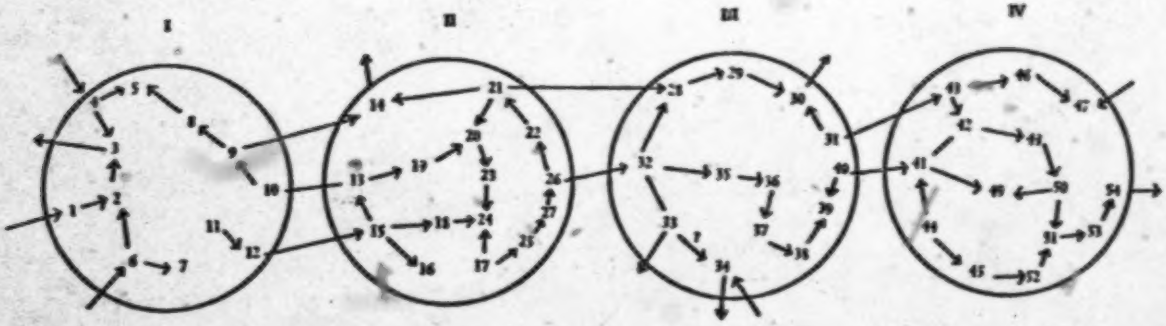
DIAGRAM IV. Intermarrying Lineages and Ritual Congregations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tions. The arrows represent the directional passage of women in 794
a matrilateral system. Since women pass from lineages one 621
through fifty-four, in a manner of speaking, no single congrega- 613
tional unit, that is I, II, III, or IV, may be said to be 582
self-contained or endogamous, an interdependence shown by arrows between congregations. Still, each congregation appears to have more marital connections among its constituent lineages than these lineages have with others outside the congregation. There appears to be a congregational concentration of marriage links. The diagram is designed to portray this on the basis of quantitative data on marriages among these lineages (thirteen additional lineages were omitted from the diagram because of inadequate data) during approximately ten-year periods over a span of approximately forty years.

A ritual congregation is always a geographical population, whereas marriage alliances may jump the local, congregational boundaries (even to a greater extent than shown on the diagram). On the surface, therefore, there might seem to be a low correlation between marriage alliances and ritual congregationalism, making unclear the possible influence of one structure on the other (i.e. their relationship). But there is more to this apparent discrepancy than meets the eye, as I shall explain in a moment.

It might be said that there is something of an endogamous quality in the ritual congregation. The broader the viewing angle, the greater the degree of endogamy, until in the larger ritual congregation one finds what appear to be a significantly greater number of marriages occurring generation after generation in a single congregation than between its lineal components and those of other congregations. I say "appear" to be significant, because my quantitative data are not such that they would be of statistical significance, for their numerical expression comprises only a small fraction of the Mapuche population. However, any individual (representing his lineage) is able to indicate with a measure of precision the limits of both interacting marriage groups and interacting units of ritual congregational sets (which compose the greater ritual congregation). Taken from a broad regional view, then, there would seem to be a rather high correlation between ritually and maritally inter-

794 acting descent groups. It is my feeling, on the basis of my own
621 historical inquiry, that ritual congregations as they are known
•613 today are a relatively recent phenomenon (also see Guevara
1898: 440), somewhat more recently developed than marriage
582 alliance groupings, and that the former are exerting their
[178] influence on the latter. In short, largely because of considerations
of religious morality, the extension of marriage alliances is
becoming narrowed to approximate the confines of the regional
congregational memberships. This seems to be a phenomenon
related to the maturity of the reservation system and an
indication of the salient place ritual participation occupies in
regional identification.

613 The possession, loss, and continual recruitment of women is
582 enveloped by strong moral considerations, expressed in public
581 ritual at funeral, birth, and marriage ceremonies, and reaffirmed
symbolically on other occasions during one's lifetime. Rights to
obtain women from a wife-giving group can hardly be separated
from the strong obligations these entail and the payments (of
land) without which marriage could not occur. When a man
looks outside his wife-giving groups for a spouse his chances are
limited by an absence of these very rights and obligations, since
he is dealing with people who are either strangers to him or are
so committed to other descent groups that any transaction that
might be carried out is done so in an atmosphere of hostility and
mistrust. When one marries outside the well-defined matrilateral
context, one does so outside the area of time-tested rights and
obligations, which usually exist between two groups united
through a succession of alliances, alliances over several generations
which are multiplied in each generation, decade, and year
of existence.

794 As the wife-giving and wife-receiving system developed into
582 its present matrilateral form, the units involved tended more
178 and more to be identified with a local or regional block of
613 reservations. While marriages outside such a locality continue to
582 be contracted, they seem to be much less frequent than in the
178 past, now that physical mobility has been curtailed and polygyny
595 has declined. Most genealogies show that extra-congregational
marriages took place three and four generations ago, during the
794 transitional period when the reservation system had not taken

hold in all parts of Mapucheland, at a time when polygyny was 794
still prevalent. The more detailed data I have for the last forty 582
years or so show that most of the marriages contracted a 178
generation ago, and during the last ten years, fall within the [595]
ritual congregation. Formerly established marriage ties with extra-congregational reservations have fallen into the category of half-remembered events. They have ceased to be exploited as potential avenues for the acquisition of wives.

If the range of marital alliances is actually becoming narrower and is coming to approximate the limits of the ritual congregation, as I believe, one of the causes of this nexus is the system of religious morality. I do not suggest that it is the single cause, since other factors, such as a decline in polygyny (in turn related to economic change), are also relative to this condition. This is an area for further study, in view of which it is advisable to say that the congruence of marriage linkage and ritual congregationalism is part of an overall adjustment of Mapuche society to its present natural and social environment, the causes of which are multiple and complex.

However this may be, there is a strong kinship element in the 621
structure of the ritual congregation on the one hand and a 613.
clearly identifiable neighborhood basis on the other. It is 794
difficult and perhaps unnecessary to decide which is the more important at present. Anyone standing in the center of a congregational unit, such as A-B-C, F-F_1-F_2, etc., is able to name a group of surrounding reservations connected to his own (lineage) either by ties of marriage or ritual or both. He knows that certain marriages link his own reservation with more distant ones, but he is not sure of the exact nature of these ties, nor precisely why these outlying reservations are not logically members of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. Where clarity dims, it seems justifiable to draw the line around the greater ritual congregation. Hachured reservations in model Diagram II fall within this category.

I have found no immediate basis in the older histories or 178
ethnographies for the development of these ritual congregations 621
or the matrilateral marriage system which presently tends to 794
correlate with them. All evidence points to the reservation system itself as the main force which has conditioned twentieth-

178 century developments and given its character to Mapuche
621 society. It seems, therefore, that the *ngillatun* congregation is a
794 product of recent historical changes involving fertility rites of
[241] proportions corresponding to the increasing importance of
agriculture among these people. These rites concern neighbor-
[613] hoods of people. There has been no simple extension of
localized lineage or family ritual to this larger, heterogeneous
population—the ritual congregation. Rather, the formation of
178 these neighborhood-based ritual congregations suggests that
621 some significant changes have taken place in the structure of
771 ritual action and that a modification of emphasis has occurred
794 with regard to mythical, regional deities. Religious belief has
remained essentially unchanged, however, while ritual practices
have altered in both a quantitative and qualitative sense, to
include larger and more heterogeneous groups within a ritual
congregation.

794 *Dominant and Subordinate (unrelated) Lineages.* In
613 any consideration of *ngillatun*, even for an adequate under-
621 standing of its culture content, some analysis of lineages is essential. The ritual congregation is not composed of a casual aggregate of persons, but is made up of persons having membership in patrilineal groups which are traditional repositories of special ascribed rights and obligations involving ceremonial performance. Among these are the guardianship of the ceremonial field ([illegible]: most sacred place; *ngillatuwe*), the locus of adoration accounted for in myth, and the ritual altars sacred to all members of the congregation. The sphere of congregational activity defines the greater ritual community, in which membership is timeless. Attendance may be regular or occasional, as already discussed, depending on the social and spatial relationship of any group in question to the locus of ceremonial responsibility; but responsible participation is defined by membership in sets of ritually related patrilineages localized on reservations within the greater moral community.

On all multilineage reservations there is a dominant lineage and one or more subordinate lineages, the latter small in membership and structured along the lines described in Chapter One. The dominant lineage is dominant in at least two senses: (1) its members form a majority in the reservation community

and, (2) it is the most powerful lineage on the reservation, 794
largely because of a combination of numerical superiority and 613•
inheritance rights enjoyed through a single line of relationship 621
to the founding chief. The dominant lineage supplies the major 794
ritual functionaries but allocates responsibility in community- 796
based ceremonies to elders (and other members as well) of the
subordinate lineages. The lesser functionaries—the captains, 613
sergeants, standard bearers, drum beaters, flute and trumpet 621
players, special dancers, whose roles are viewed as ancillary to that of the *ñillatufe*, and the supporting priest-chiefs from participating reservations—constitute important structural links for the integration of the dominant and subordinate lineages on any single reservation, as well as among the several reservations in joint ceremonial participation.

It is the elders of the dominant lineage of the host reservation who make decisions about holding the *ñillatun*, determine most of the numerous organizational details (such as the kinds of beverages to be drunk and used in libation, the kind and number of animals to be sacrificed, and the like), and have most to say about the appointment of lesser functionaries. Its members also make the greatest contributions of food and sacrificial animals. Such contributions represent institutionalized obligations, modified only by considerations of the wealth-status of persons primarily involved. But even a poor lineage elder is compelled to make a token contribution which, since it indicates that he and his closest kinsmen are pure in heart, is accepted as complete fulfillment of his ritual duty.[4]

The heaviest obligations fall on those who are most directly 794
related to the principal ancestors of the various groups in the 769
ritual congregation. If several reservations comprise the core of participants of a congregation, as is nearly always the case, this
means that several sets of ancestors are propitiated. These [613]
ancestors are very great personages, almost always former war-

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[4] While I do not consider the situational effects of poverty in this generalized treatment of *ñillatun*, I must say that continued and extreme poverty does condition the staging of these ceremonies, making them difficult or even impossible to hold regularly in certain parts of Mapucheland or on certain isolated reservations. The implications of this for the realignments of ritual congregations is a topic outside the range of this monograph. [735]

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794 time chiefs, who are powerful and beneficent spirits interested in
769 the well-being of all members of the congregation, despite the
613 lack of lineal ties between reservations comprising the moral
community. It seems precisely this conception of ancestral
responsibility which has resulted in certain ancestors (again,
mainly chiefs) of the participating lineages having become
generalized ancestral deities in any given congregational sphere.
They are propitiated by patrilineally unrelated members of the
ritual congregation who believe they have the welfare of the
entire congregation at heart. These are the ancestors who walk
with the sons of the gods.

794 Each host reservation ideally has its own priest (*ñillatufe*),
793 who is usually the chief, an elder of the dominant lineage. In the
absence of a priest, some accommodation is made. I have
822 mentioned the place of the machi in such circumstances.
613 Another accommodation is for the host reservation to invite a
756 *ñillatufe* from a participant reservation to officiate. When there
are two or more reservations in a congregational nucleus, it
presents little or no difficulty to use the chief or *ñillatufe* from
another segment of the core unit.

793 A significant feature of each reservation having its own
794 priest-chief is that such a figure symbolizes the connection
between the living and the ancestor-gods, the chief constituting
622 the connecting link in a chain of mutual though asymmetrical
769 responsibilities. Each reservation as a responsible unit ideally
supplies its own priest-chief who lends assistance to the *ñillatufe*
of the host reservation and who, verbally on several occasions
and symbolically during all phases of the ceremony, represents
his group by making orations and food offerings to ancestral
spirits. Still, I cannot emphasize too much that this concern
with authentic ancestral spirits is not the principal concern of
the *ñillatun* assemblage. The chiefs call upon the ancestors of
their lineages, the elders of subordinate lineages doing likewise
on the same occasions and in the same manner; but the chief, as
representative of a multilineage reservation community and as
one of several leaders of the ritual congregation, also invokes the
generalized, mythical ancestral figures common to the entire
ritual community. This serves partly to symbolize his political

12: Faron E-4.5 (1952-1954) 1964
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[illegible]

role and at the same time (or at least serves to maintain) his political status.

[illegible]
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It is of interest to consider the part played by in-married women in nillatun ceremonies. I am not referring to the occasional participation of a machi, although I might mention that in no instance may she be a lineal member of the host group, for this would jeopardize the ancestral spirits of the hosts. Nor do machi have as familiars spirits other than those on the order of a grandmother's or great-grandmother's spirit. These familiars may or may not be ancestral to other lineages in the congregation. Since machi tend to marry outside the patterned matrilateral system, the risk of their dealing with spirits of importance to the ritual congregation is slight. In any case, the machi represents her reservation as a community without special consideration of lineage membership.

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With respect to most in-married women, it may be said that their ritual roles are commensurate with their marriage links with the most responsible males of the reservation. They may have important roles in the preparation and serving of food to special guests, they may be leaders in the various ritual dances; or they may have simpler roles, such as preparing food only for their household and immediate relatives or participating in one or more dances simply as followers. Their presence, however, is demanded. Upon marriage, they receive the right to participate as responsible members of the reservation community and, thereafter, participation is obligatory. That obligation is attached to their being members of a community (and a ritual congregation), not as members of any of the lineages therein. It is significant that in-married women are excluded from preliminary rites, in which lineage ancestors are propitiated, and in which they have little or no stake. Still, in-married women must participate in the general nillatun ceremony, and regularly. If they express a desire not to attend regularly, it is possible that they will be labelled kalku.

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One effect of the extension of these performance rights to in-married women is that all lineages on any reservation are, through in-married women alone, amalgamated into a single ritual entity. This feature supports the ritual bond which is felt

794 562 •613 621 and expressed in other ways by the several lineages on any multilineage reservation. Women enjoy this responsible status only by virtue of their marriage to members of the reservation community. To the extent that they may be said to comprise a corporate group on these occasions of ritual performance, it is contingent only on their marriage ties to the group of responsible males of the community, which indicates, however, an interesting and important connection between marriage ties and the ritual expression of moral obligation. [769] To the extent that marriage ties between reservations correlate with ritual bonds, in-married women do not have to forsake their ancestral deities, but are able to observe their propitiation during the *ñillatun* ceremony. Viewed from the angle of the matrilateral marriage system, the structural significance of in-married women is apparent in the integration of the ritual congregation. I will have more to say about the lack of complete correspondence between congregational units and marriage alliance units later.

622 793 794 613 [182] *Role of* Ñillatufe: *The Chief as Priest.* Lineages on any reservation, and reservations in any congregational core (e.g. A-B-C in Diagram II), are symbolically integrated into a functioning ritual entity through the offices of the priest-chief on each reservation. This person is chief by virtue of his position in the dominant lineage; he is priest by virtue of his training for the office of chief. Both positions constitute a dual status-role based on kinship and extended to the political and ritual spheres of social action, and both hinge on the fact that the chief occupies a pivotal position between the living and their most powerful ancestral spirits, the dead chiefs.

779 622 Chiefs who work together in any congregational unit during *ñillatun* represent their respective groups before their ancestors and the regional and pan-Mapuche gods. The chief is ideally the repository of accumulated ritual lore and ability. [613] His ritual leadership is guaranteed by the political power vested in him as lineal heir of the founder of the dominant lineage on the reservation to which he belongs. He regulates the ritual cycle, with the agreement of elders among his constituents, important among whom [628] are the leaders of the subordinate lineages. He participates in the regulation of the multi-reservational ritual cycle jointly with

chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this 79
is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief 622
shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite [628]
poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to
the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there
seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the
linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear [626]
on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his [613]
own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the
linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, 622
responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman 793
for his entire community, the chief is the only person who 794
is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted
action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the
ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual
responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of
this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not
themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in
ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding
or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more
festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, 793
more than any other single factor, bolsters his political 794
leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a 622
carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the 621
localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities 178
has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism,
and only since congregational development of this 554
sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to
such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested
largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command
allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship
group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political 793
and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation 621
community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on 622
reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds 554
studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great 182
[114]

182

793 difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and
554 mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or
621 marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the
622 chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate
to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness,
[114] they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is
ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual
leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to
[628] ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look
[769] elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to
them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own
authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the
• [613] *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on
the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political
affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent
households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the
formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate
lineages then achieve an equal footing with the
segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of
political and ritual integration (the one implying the other),
the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community,
and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of
[754] situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the
182 *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of
554 great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to
621 his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community.
622 This of course has great implications for the survival of the
793 entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole.
If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual
794 leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant
lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and
there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as
priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal
integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual
congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality.
571 The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony,
796 is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche
182 society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a
181

cultural and social entity from the local, provincial expression of 571
Chilean society and culture. It does not distinguish them in the 796
same way that their liking for horsemeat does, or their craving at 182
times for rotten potatoes or the blood-filled lungs of sheep; 181
rather, it functions to maintain Mapuche society as a distinquishable, integrated structure, which the above-mentioned tastes serve to symbolize and in which they can be satisfied.

Awn

Funeral ceremonies—upon the death of one of a pair of 764
spouses—involve complex sets of obligations which ramify 613
through several lineages on any multilineage reservation, extend 602
to one or more affinally related lineages localized on other reservations, and usually include (again under the compulsion of obligatory participation) some persons who are unrelated to either spouse, but who are members of long residence in the ritual congregation. Within this framework, there is some difference between the relationships which are activated and brought into focus upon the death of a male (core member of one of the resident lineages) and his in-married spouse.

In the discussion that follows major referents include the host lineage, that of the husband, which is always sponsor of the funeral ceremony regardless of which of the married pair has died; secondly, the patrilineage of the in-married woman, which always shares responsibility in the ceremony regardless of which spouse has died; next, other lineages in residence on the reservation of either spouse and under compulsion to participate in the service although not patrilineally related to either spouse; and the deceased person, who is always referred to as one of a pair of spouses, married according to matrilateral pattern and resident
according to patrilocal rule. My interest here is funerals in gen- 764
eral, with respect to the important institutionalized relations 121
which constitute part of any funeral. When distinctions between male and female funerals need be made, as they will, I will indicate them as the need arises. This procedure entails a certain amount of juggling of referents and angles of vision which, although regrettable in one sense, seems justified by the fact that all funeral ceremonies are understandable only as part of the total configuration of institutionalized relationships

The most elaborate and detailed concern with authentic 769
ancestral spirits is encountered in the funeral ceremony. In all 613
cases, the most important of these are the (dead) members of [764]
the maximal lineage of the husband, the living members of
which (the entire localized lineage and representatives of the
lineage group) share the responsibility of a ritually perfect
service in order that the newly released spirit (a fellow lineage
mate or his wife) is assured a safe passage to the world of the
dead. If the deceased is an in-married woman, her children
(members of their father's lineage) will continue to propitiate
her spirit as long as they live—both parents conceived of as
residing in death with all former members of the residential
kingroup, the "reservation in the sky." While this notion of
common residence in afterlife has its consolation for the living,
it also carries heavy responsibility. One is not only able to
propitiate the collectivity of ancestors (*pu am, pu laku, kuifiche,*
etc.) but one must do so, since forgetfulness entails penalties, as
previously mentioned. Propitiation of ancestors is done as a 769
matter of course during *ñillatun*, and the concept of *kuifiche* 613
may be taken to include the spirits of in-married women. But all 562
female ancestors are relatively neglected. It is also part of the
conceptual framework that individual persons make their own
private prayer, offered outside the context of *ñillatun* or *awn*. In
this context, also, patrilineal ancestors receive more attention
than women who married into the local group. After a few
generations, women are generally forgotten, whereas grandfathers,
great-grandfathers, etc. are better remembered. This is
clearly borne out by all genealogies. Nor does a woman's own
lineage group pay her the ritual respect it does its male
members. The fact that female spirits are neglected in this
manner is a weakness in the moral armor of the Mapuche. It is [783]
possible that the fears and uncertainties are partly engendered [754]
by feelings of guilt over neglecting female ancestors, and that
the association of women with sorcery is related to this peculiarity.

In the context of responsible participation, next in importance 613
to the lineage of the husband is that of his wife. Its responsibility 602
is sometimes shared by the other lineages on the woman's natal
reservation, usually if the entire reservation community is small

613 and tends to comprise a wife-giving group for the husband's
602 reservation. Whether or not this is the case, the two reservations
are always linked by multiple affinal bonds. Among these the
exact genealogical relationships are generally not known with
certainty and are given no formal recognition as constituting a
social unit.

It will be remembered that in discussing sublineation and the
development of the present system of matrilateral marriage I
mentioned the former practice of wide-range marriage links,
many of which constituted polygynous unions. The existence of
these former unions has, during the maturation of reservation
society, conditioned members of different sublineages to take
wives from different wife-giving groups now localized on several
reservations. In short, most large lineages are internally differentiated by the provenience of wives of members of the
sublineages. Because of this configuration of marriage ties, there
is considerable overlapping and shifting of affinal groups from
one funeral to another, as different wife-giving groups assume
[764] positions of major importance. This of course does not affect the
funeral structure, which is an institutionalized set of relation-
[571] ships throughout Mapucheland, but it does serve to change the
composition of any funeral gathering on successive occasions. Its
net effect is to bring together in recurrent relationships a rather
large and heterogeneous (with respect to lineage membership)
population—and one founded on principles of morality having a
794 strong emotional content. The lineages and reservations most
613 intimately and repeatedly involved in funeral ceremonies tend
to form a group whose membership correlates with that of the
621 *ñillatun* congregation. At the conclusion of this chapter, I will
182 discuss the significance of whatever correlation exists between
[764] the regional congregational expression of *awn*, *ñillatun*, and
marriage. Suffice it here that the broad implication of this
postulated correlation is that, among certain other socially
integrative mechanisms, these three are elemental integrative
forces (of concept and action) at least on a regional level of
analysis. This will hold even if my argument for a more
circumscribed definition of the correlation of marriage alliance
groups and ritual congregation proves inconclusive.

000 I shall deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the

The Ritual Congregation I shall
deal with the functional aspects of witchcraft in the 761
next chapter. But here I would like to point out that there is a 764
close connection between marriage bonds and funeral obliga-
tions in the context of witchcraft. It is simply that any social 754
group desires, and in large measure is compelled, to show 613
complete lack of complicity in the causation of death of a mem- 602
ber of the ritual congregation. This attitude affects affinals of 783
the deceased, some of whom are usually considered potentially culpable. All relatives must evidence their freedom from guilt, and they best express their desire to assist in the untrammelled transition of the deceased's spirit to the afterworld by responsible participation in the funeral rite.

Not all social categories mentioned above have equal respon- 764
sibility with regard to the funeral service, nor are all equally 613
suspect of possible complicity in death. Before going on to a 602
more detailed discussion of the institutionalized relationships which constitute *awn*, I will recapitulate the groups most regularly involved in funeral obligations, also indicating where responsibility becomes attenuated. The lineage group (nonlocalized members included) of each spouse is primarily involved, each carrying the heaviest responsibility for the safe passage of
the spirit from this world to the next. Their freedom from com- [761]
plicity in the supernatural causation of death is not seriously questioned. Other wife-giving groups are also in attendance. If the decedent is a male, these are groups related through the marriage of his closest lineage brothers. If the decedent is an inmarried woman, a different set of affinal groups is concerned—those into which her lineage sisters have married, her husband's patrilineage of course being one of these. By no means all members of these sets of affinal groups attend the funeral. Rather, just the most closely related households participate, in some sense, to be sure, as representatives of their reservation communities, although they do not shoulder the responsibility for all members of their respective residential kingroups.

Placing the Blame. Every Mapuche belongs to three 764
well-defined groups: household, lineage, reservation commu- 602
nity. He is also a member of a larger and less defined relationship 613
group (in which obligations are therefore less defined), includ-
ing the patrilineage of his mother and other lineages related 571
through women married to his lineage brothers and through

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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764 lineage sisters to wife-receiving groups. The more wide-ranging
602 the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are becoming
•613 narrower) and especially of his sublineage and immediate
571 family, the greater the number of different groups represented at
his funeral. The least closely related of these persons and groups
764 are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the
602 death of a lineage mate or his wife.[4] This is a fact of which they
613 are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral
578 services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt
783 by speaking the praises of the dead (*weupin*). If any of these
754 people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have
threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at
the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to
the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

764 I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility
182 to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche
571 that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the
613 new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon afterworld. It is
602 also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in
abundance as an invariable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of goodfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is symbolized.

761 Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death.
602 If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the
613 responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

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[581]
[577]
[571]

[4] This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the context under examination: it tends to maintain the status quo by making it easier and more secure for a man to marry into a fully-established wife-giving group. We therefore have a reaffirmation of moral obligations by successive and multiple alliances between two localized lineages, and the reaffirmation of far-reaching affinal ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregation, to the extent that this occurs, bolsters both ritual and marital relationships, by leading to a greater understanding and trust, which makes for more successful interaction sanctioned by the moral order.

kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the 761
group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from 602
outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was 613
caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the *wekufe*. The
fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is
mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside 761
the residential group and, finally, determining that the most 613
closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious
function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have 602
been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is 182
placed on the exoneration of the entire group of relatives present 783
or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for 578
several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tran-
quility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities.
While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves
all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form
private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never
really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of
affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is
seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors 761
were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. 769
Neglect or offence of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest— 602
ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able
to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a 613
responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in 578
his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally
related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which
are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The
major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to
rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example,
knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly
propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute
segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs.
There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sus-
tained marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having
been established in the past and then not renewed through
subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly,
there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
602 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
613 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are
578 relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected
of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm.
[783] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
602 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
613 married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
621 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential
182 segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder.
[769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

794 significantly high correlation among the eighteen reservations
621 indicated in Diagram II. Those not directly tied together by
marriage links, in the expectably patterned manner, indicate, I
602 believe, the incompleteness of my data. This dual linkage of
marriage and ritual groups occurs much too frequently to be
[184] mere chance. To this extent, my data on matrilateral marriage
and ritual participation for other parts of Mapucheland indicate
that this kind of linkage is general among the Mapuche, rather
than peculiar to the Toltén region.

•613 The fact that there is not a 1:1 correlation between ritual
794 congregation and the totality of marriage alliances of the
constituent reservations is understandable on two counts. In the
621 first place, and this is the aspect which is undergoing change,
581 former polygynous tendencies have made for far-reaching marriage
582 ties and the existence of potential groups of wife-givers
outside the congregational bounds. This is of less significance
[595] than the second point. The second point involves a considera-
[178] tion of the relationship between affinity and sorcery, or the
[754] moral community and the existence of evil. Elsewhere (Faron
1961c; 1962) I have discussed the Mapuche system of matrilateral
marriage and the absence of any discernible circular
000 system of relationships. The notion of a circular pattern (e.g. as
elaborated by Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Needham) is intriguing and, as a high-level abstraction, I believe it may be applicable to total Mapuche society and, logically, to any other in which women pass in only one direction in a system of wife-giving and wife-receiving units. Still, as an abstraction it is so general that its conceptualization sells short the interaction of systems of marriage and religious morality, especially at the local level on which blame for death, or at least its explanation, must be viewed as having its source outside some sort of local or regional entity.

794 In this regard, the arrows indicating the passage of women in
613 marriage, as they appear in Diagrams II and III, do less violence
582 to actual relationships than might be expected in a model
representation. They indicate, among other things, that there is
621 no circular relationship—at least not within the ritual congrega-
tion. This latter point is most important for the conceptualization of sorcery and notions of culpability within the context of marriage and neighborhood.

1 2 [Errata: see category 116, p. 221, for corrections --
Analyst]

or, phrased differently, because certain females have special 756 qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes no female line, although in nearly all 756 cases they are kinswomen (and truly familiar) collaterally 613 related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a *machi* and her familiars, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the *machi*'s lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. *Machi* simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all *machi*, male and female, seem to marry 756 outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to 591 remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to 58 the groups with whom they reside. Male *machi* tend to live uxorilocally if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stray from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a *machi* and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married *machi*. Rather, it seems that *machi* take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-receiving group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the *machi*'s part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilineal descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, *machi* seem to operate outside the traditional 756 structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, *machi* 554 are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they 562 reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, 182 it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

756 shamanism and the distaff side of the universe. Even if not
554 homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during
562 performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "nonmasculine" in
182 Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

756 The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage
769 is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a
562 *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and,
182 therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s
613 familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

756 There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between
613 shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and
182 that of matrilateral marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotestality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: *Marshalling the Forces of Evil*

114 Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is
754 rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of reportorial quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfectness and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

000 community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible
754 person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of
683 the entire community.

621 Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being prac-
754 ticed for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible,
●613 although one may expect certain animosities to result in the
578 practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

754 The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to
613 operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one
683 member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be
[692] satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an
[648] appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

754 Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but between members of its branches. The members of sublineages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly
613
578 integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an
[423] extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage soli-
428 darity results from land shortage, which affects not so much
[581] inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

754

does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving 578
fully adult status in the community) and support their families 613
on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties [423]
which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually [428]
resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the [581]
rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are [166]
dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and 754
countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, 578
a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than 618
the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these 754
females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious 578
relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an 618
effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, politi- 613
cal activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive 182
forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral 582
marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common senti-
578 ment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore,
618 women standing in such relationship are generally married to
613 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already
182 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from
582 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common
residence among in-married women is quite important in
establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this
regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives
is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older
women themselves the relationships are generally rather
amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in
entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil-
578 ments by deemphasizing the importance of the accusations
593 made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the ex-
[618] tent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the
animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment,
in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps,
detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations.
A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trou-
ble among his kinsmen over unfounded fears. Consequently,
with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not
to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the
accusations that others have made, since the men almost
inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that
[626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those
who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services.
Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the
charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the
593 public eye, since murder is not involved.

754 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among
in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious
595 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to
[832] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause
[842] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche-
land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous
[178] households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is
usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to 754
accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather 578
than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, 593
difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are
taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of
the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They [521]
seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is
said that sorcery is a woman's delight, a principal item of gossip,
and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in
such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own
wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears,
while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given
their basic assumption) with other men. This is always a male
solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to [756]
obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to
perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes
self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher 754
incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than 613
within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I 621
believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priest-chief. These unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own kingroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted surreptitious murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the interreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to 000

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility cere- 772
monies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are 562
considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, [754]
and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold,
death-ridden side of the conceptual universe. 829

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values 772
centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" 756
shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche.
Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in 562
women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, [838]
crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are [732]
nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part
of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say
that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For
the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of comple-
mentary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with
right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche
thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the
thungulmachin whose occult powers are not wholly masculine.
Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female character-
istics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest 793
(*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans some- 772
times complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The 756
ñillatufe has a quite different relationship to the supernatural 829
than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied
to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal
descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, [613]
therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader
of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group
which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*,
caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing
heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the
ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of 772
these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other 622
elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to 554
their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and,
even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occa-
sions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *ñillatufe* receives
554 abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to
the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
601 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
554 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the
senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *ñillan* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
554 with respect to *ñillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the
602 individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
613 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
578 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any
large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who *must* put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, 772
little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized 554
on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members 613
of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political 602
and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in 578
any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, 772
although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least mo- 431
mentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies 554
such as *trafkin* and *konchotun*, in which gift-giving is important, 571
the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *awn* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokiñ*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokiñ* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal 583
exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly incon- 613
sistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The 602
554
[114]

583 inferiority of the group who pays brideprice is symbolized in a
•613 number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41–45). Rather than
602 being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory
554 imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

582 It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of
women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of
613 generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast
602 majority of marriages being contracted with matrilaterally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters
[601] marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñillan:* the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *ñillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

582 Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that
marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union,
[671] one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961*a*, *c*; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *ñuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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582 613 182 In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Faron 1962). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expression might mean to the Mapuche. A fuller explanation now suggests itself; one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*admapu*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is proscribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's-brother's-daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic expression of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

101 186 [619] I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *winka*, a term reserved especially for non-Mapuche, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to nonrelated or out-group Mapuche. For the Mapuche, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Mapuche; all colonizers *winka*. Their questions about "Mapuche" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

101 619 Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical divisions in Mapucheland itself, that is, among Mapuche. The word Mapuche means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Araucanian call themselves Mapuche, standing as each does in the center of his own little world. Mapuche residing to the north are referred to as Picunche (*picun:* north), to the south, Huilliche (*huilli:* south), to the east, Puenche, and to the west, along the coast, Lafkenche (*lafken:* ocean). Some writers have taken these geographico-directional classifications to mean that fixed political and ethnic [114]
divisions existed among the prereservation Mapuche. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, these are clearly relative terms by which all Mapuche are able to orient themselves and sort out blocks of other Mapuche if necessary. Non-Mapuche are never classified

101 in these terms—are never called *che*—remaining an undifferentiated
619 totality, *winka*. This, then, is the wide-angle view: there
are Mapuche on the one hand and *winka* on the other. Within
794 the ritual congregation, however, there are other important
613 classifications which are made: one's lineage mates, one's

582

DIAGRAM V. Schema of Structural Categories in Mapucheland

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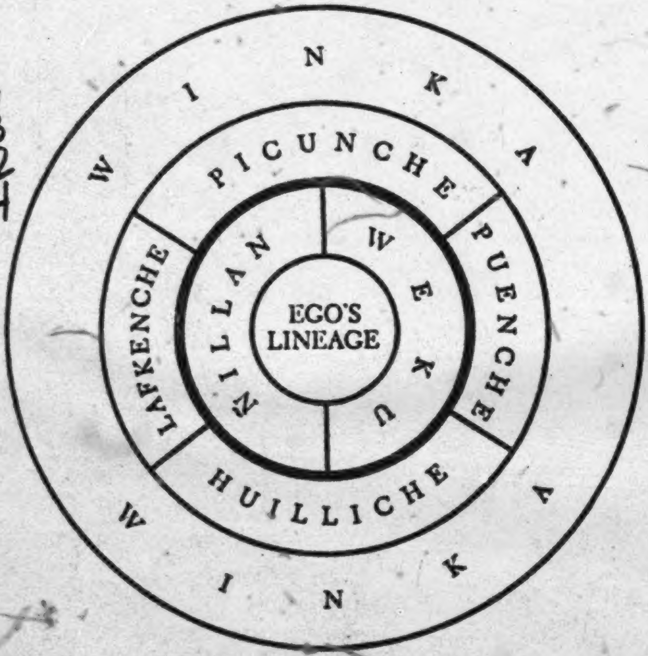

794 wife-receivers (*ñillan*), and one's wife-givers (*weku*). Diagram
613 V depicts this conceptualization of structural categories in
582 Mapucheland.

For the purpose of micro-geographical orientation, the
101 Mapuche use place names. These are of three sorts: (1) re-
103 gional, (2) reservational, (3) intrareservational. A regional
name is usually taken from its most outstanding physical charac-

teristic—a huge, solitary tree, a swampy area, a rocky promi- 101
nence, a curious bend in the river. Regions always contain many 103
reservations, but the regional rather than the reservational
names are used for purposes of general identification. When
great specificity is called for, intrareservational names tend to be
used. These, again, are place names taken from a somewhat
peculiar contour of the land, a stream, a rock, or a clump of
trees, and are usually the names of residential sites for closely
related kinsmen. Reservation names (usually the name of the [613]
original chief and, therefore, of the dominant lineage in resi-
dence) are reserved for use in Chilean courts and agencies or in
stores, for the purpose of legal identification. They are not in
general use among the Mapuche themselves, and we are told
that Chileans in general are unaware of these traditional desig-
nations. In view of all this, I would say that the Chilean and
Mapuche worlds stand in complementary opposition.

The correspondence between region and ritual congregation 181
is great, if not always complete. The reservations are alien 182
political and economic constructs of Chilean derivation. The 794
region is the seat of ritual responsibility, the locus in which [648]
matrilateral marriage alliances form their tightest web for any
individual or group, the stage on which the drama of life and
death is enacted. The region as ritual congregation has moral
unity, offers protection against the most malevolent forces of
evil, is the center of ritual sacrifice to the hawks of the sun. It
is the center of the Mapuche world. Its dimensions are unknown
to the outsider; it is apart and sacred to its membership. It
assures the continuity of Mapuche morality.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The elementary-
177 family household is emerging or has already
178 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the
cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
594 tion on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably
613 reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant
[433] corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a
[582] matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of
relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force
177 or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has
declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
178 ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
622 change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
554 nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so
of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as
[769] kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably en-
hanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

177 Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
178 social function of *ñillatun* and *awn* to the extent that these
assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
796 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
769 than anything described during the prereservation era. There is
today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congrega-
[794] tion which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-
givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.